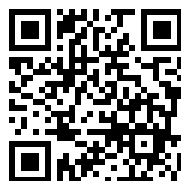

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The Tombs of the Archbishops in Canterbury Cathedral

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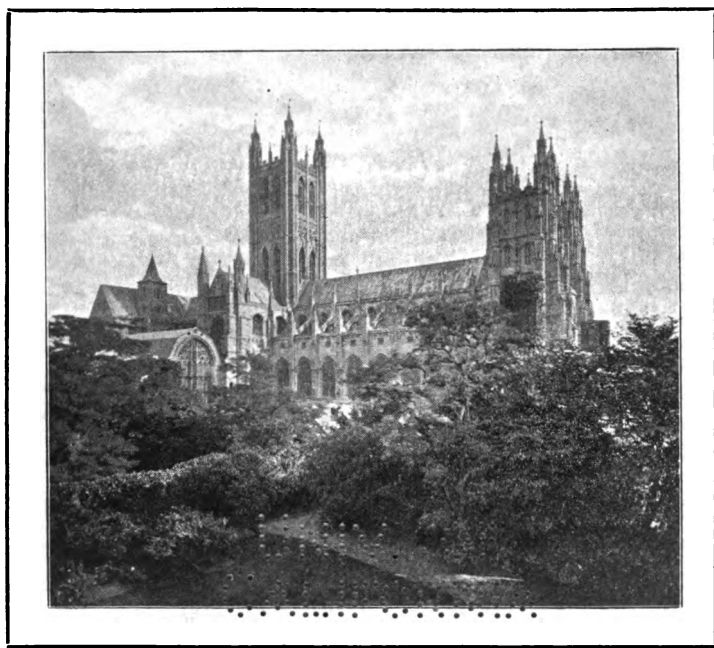


H. Morse Stephens

University of California

H.M.S.C. *guidebooks to Canterbury Cathedrals* v. 2

NOTES
ON THE
PAINTED GLASS *no. 1.*
IN
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
WITH PLATES



WITH PREFACE BY THE
VERY REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.
DEAN OF CANTERBURY

ALL PROCEEDS FOR THE CATHEDRAL RESTORATION FUND

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Presented to the University of Aberdeen June 1910.
H. H. H. H.

NOTES

ON

THE PAINTED GLASS

IN

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

WITH A PREFACE

BY THE

VERY REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.

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1897

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

TO VIND
ANTHROPOLOGY

PREFACE.

IN the following valuable but unpretending pages, I believe that every reader will find a more convenient guide than has yet been published to the study of the old stained glass windows in Canterbury Cathedral. It need hardly be said that the more ancient windows contain some of the finest thirteenth century glass in England ; and it is at least probable that there are fragments of stained glass still remaining in them which are even older. When Richard Culmer, the fanatical Rector of Chatham, occupied himself in "rattling down proud Becket's glassy bones," he ruined in a few hours the work of years, and ignorantly inflicted upon the Cathedral an amount of damage which can never be repaired. Fortunately, however, his career of furious iconoclasm was checked before he had utterly destroyed the entire series of those

"Storied windows richly dight
Shedding a dim religious light,"

which would now have been of priceless value. But the windows, and parts of windows, which escaped the pikes of the Puritans are precious from their connection with the progress of a beautiful art, of which the secrets are partly lost, and because of the intensely interesting light which they throw upon the history, the legends and the religious beliefs of the Middle Ages. A little has been done of late years to gather together these scattered fragments of glass which once presented continuous scenes from the miraculous interventions of Archbishop Becket, as told by Monkish chroniclers. But without the help of such a

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book as this the ordinary visitor to the Cathedral would find himself hopelessly unable to decipher the meaning of pictures of which the continuity has been repeatedly disturbed, and of which the Latin rhyming descriptions are often too confused to be any longer intelligible. The preparation of these pages has been a labour of love on the part of the author. She has conferred a real obligation on all who love Canterbury Cathedral, and who desire to learn something more from its records and memories than can be acquired by a rapid and superficial glance at its outward appearance. Had such monographs as this been more common, we should be in possession of many interesting details now lost in oblivion, and England would perhaps show a deeper interest in her glorious Cathedrals, and a more munificent desire to save them from an impoverishment which cripples their resources and a decay which in time will spoil their beauty. I hope that this little book may be so heartily welcomed as to encourage future efforts in a similar direction, and gradually to fulfil the poet's aspiration :—

“ Wake again, Teutonic Father-ages,
 Speak again, beloved primæval creeds;
 Flash ancestral spirit from your pages,
 Wake the greedy age to nobler deeds.

“ Old decays but foster new creations;
 Bones and ashes feed the golden corn;
 Fresh elixirs wander every moment
 Down the veins through which the live past feeds its child, the
 live unborn.”

F. W. FARRAR.

21st May, 1897.

THE aim of these very imperfect notes is to give some account of the changes which have taken place in the arrangement of the old painted glass, and to keep a distinct record of modern additions.

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The plans are (approximately) to the scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot. The last three excepted.

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NOTES ON THE PAINTED GLASS

IN

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

THE CLERESTORY.

THIRTY-THREE of the forty-nine windows are copies, by the late Mr. George Austin,¹ of the glass formerly there. The subjects represented the ancestry of our Lord, beginning on the north side of the choir with the Almighty and Adam, passing round both transepts, and ending with our Lord and the Blessed Virgin. Two figures, one above the other, are in each window, those to the east being smaller and in medallions.

Mr. Westlake draws attention to their very close resemblance in all particulars to those in the lancet windows at Chartres and in the Abbey of S. Rémi at Rheims, and he is convinced that they were designed in the same school. No record has been discovered of the exact place, but it is his belief that the designs originated from an atelier at Chartres or its neighbourhood, though whether executed there or in England it is impossible to say.²

Some windows must have been among the "window images" demolished in 1642.

¹ See XIII. "Modern Windows."

² Mr. Westlake, who has kindly looked over these notes, remarks: "I am inclined to say that the clerestory windows were the oldest in the Cathedral. Those that are still there may be a little after 1200. The style is between those at S. Rémi and those at Chartres. No window is entirely in the style of the twelfth century, although earlier details enter into all thirteenth century work."

[illegible]

About 1779 the lower part of the first window in the clerestory is spoken of as "quite defaced, having been a design to represent the Almighty, and several of the rest are without figures".¹

"Some with carpet patterns of the most beautiful colours, but where any are remaining the style in which they are drawn, and the thrones on which they are placed, much resemble those of the kings on the reverse of their earliest royal seals."²

In 1799 the window in the south transept of the nave "was selected and arranged with much care and industry by Mr. John Simmonds, one of the vesturers of the church, to whom the arrangement was committed by the Dean and Chapter".³

Some of the clerestory figures were placed there, and some in the west window of the nave, "and some glass was sold to a connoisseur".⁴

The fragments that were purchased by the connoisseur came into the possession of the late Mr. George Austin, who, in 1861-2, replaced what he could and refilled the clerestory windows with copies of the old, arranging them according to their former position as shown by Gostling.⁵

The plan is of the choir and windows to which the figures have been removed. The numbers show the original position in the clerestory, corresponding with their present places in the nave and south transept. Two original figures still remain. The upper figure of No. 13, Shem, in the south transept, removed from No. 6; and the lower figure, Esaias, No. 37, in the south. The latter is similar to one at Chartres. The head, cap, hands and part of the drapery are new, but copied by Mr. Caldwell from the old, which was falling to pieces.

At the east end part of the chequer work is old in

¹ Barnby.

² Hasted, iv., 529.

³ *Ibid.*, iv., 521.

⁴ *Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 381.

⁵ *Handbook of Canterbury*, by Felix Summerley.

Nos. 24, 25, 26 (in parts). The old borders remain in Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 24 (in part), 25, 26, 33 (in part), 34, 36, 37, 38.

Possibly the chequer work surrounding the two Becket subjects in the south transept came from here.

Note from a MS. by Mr. G. Austin, from whom the arrangement of windows is copied :—

“The names mentioned in Gostling’s list of windows, Nos. 20, 21, 22, are part of the pedigree given by S. Matthew, but all the others are according to a pedigree given by S. Luke, who, writing for the Gentiles, traced the pedigree through our Lord’s Mother to David. Were these names introduced to fill up the extra number of windows? The pedigree, as given by S. Luke, including the Virgin, would contain seventy-eight names, requiring thirty-nine windows. But there are forty-seven in the clerestory. But (Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27) five of them have been filled with medallions, thus leaving forty-two, being three more than S. Luke’s pedigree would fill. Query—If six names from S. Matthew’s pedigree were interpolated to fill up the range?

“No. 33. These figures must have been in No. 28 (Gostling). They were probably moved, as No. 33 is most seen from the choir. No. 28 cannot be seen” (Mr. G. Austin).

THE TWO WINDOWS IN THE NORTH AISLE OF CHOIR.

There were originally twelve windows with scriptural subjects, each subject being illustrated by types and their fulfilment, with an explanatory legend surrounding each.

A description of the windows is in a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College at ~~Oxford~~ ^{Cambridge}, folio 185, which Mr. Coxe considered to be of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It is copied in Somner’s *Antiquities* and in other

works. The subjects, according to Mr. Winston, were arranged three in a row, the main subject in the centre and a type on either side, like those represented in the *Biblia Pauperum*. An exact date of the glass has not been ascertained. Mr. Loftie¹ puts it at about 1174, from a comparison of similar pictures in a MS. book of pictures in the British Museum, written for the nuns at Shaftesbury. But Mr. Westlake² ascribes the glass to the first half of the thirteenth century.

The organ formerly stood above these windows as it is represented in Dart, though not quite correctly. The first window of the twelve was then blocked up to make room for the staircase, the marks of which are quite plain. The leading of the window is still there, but the glass, which chiefly related to the Virgin Mary, was destroyed in 1642. The position of the remaining nine windows of the twelve is not known.

WINDOW I., FORMERLY II.

Fourteen of these medallions were always here, and seven are from the window described as VI. in the ~~Oxford~~ MS. *Cambrid*. The Roman figures in the centre of the circles refer to the window from which the medallion was taken.³ The central subjects represented events in the life of our Lord, the types being on either side.

The description of these windows is from *A Walk in Canterbury*, by William Gostling, Minor Canon.

I.—I. Balaam riding on an Ass.

Over him is Balaam. The inscription round it is—

ORIETUR STELLA EX JACOB ET CONSURGET
VIRGO DE ISRAEL.

¹ Loftie, *Archæological Journal*.

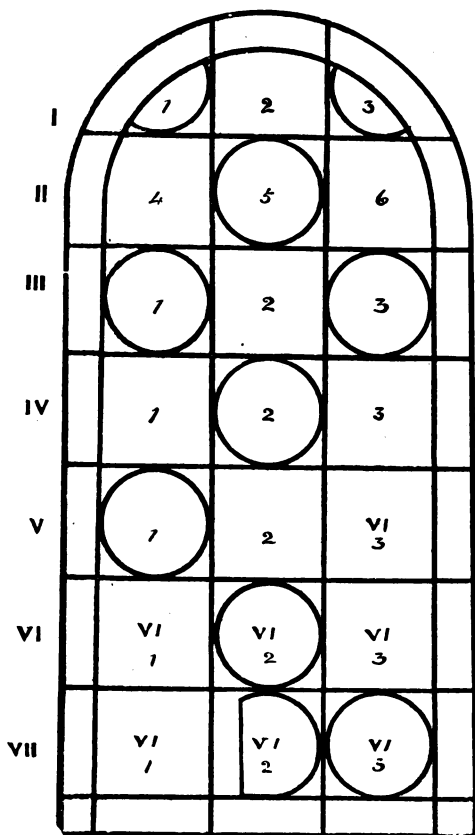
² Westlake, vol. i., 104.

³ Copies of those contained in this window are in one by Mr. G. Austin in the north transept of choir.

2. The Three Wise Men riding.

They seem to be in doubt of the way. Over them the star. No inscription.¹

3. The Prophet Isaiah standing near a gate leading into the City.



PLAN 2.

By his head YSA. The inscription is—
AMBVLAVNT GENTES IN LUMINE TVO ET
REGES IN SPLENDORE ORT, BENIAM.

¹Very similar to the Magi represented in a MS. book of pictures, *Nero*, c. iv., British Museum.

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THE CONVERSION OF THE HEATHEN.

II.—1. Pharaoh and Moses leading the People out of Egypt.

Pharaoh sitting under the entrance into his palace and an Egyptian standing by him. Pharaoh points to Moses, who is at the head of a group of Israelitish men, women and children, conducting them out of Egypt. He holds his rod in his left hand and points to the sea before them with his right. In the air before them is the miraculous pillar. Over Pharaoh is—

PHARAO REX EGYPTI.

Over the Israelites—

ISRL SEQUENS COLVMPNAM.

Over is—

EXIT ABERVMPNA POPVLUS DVCENTE COL-
VMPNA.

Under is—

STELLA MAGOS DUXIT LVX XPS VTRISQ
RELXIT.

2. Herod and the Wise Men.

Herod sitting in a pensive attitude receives the account of the three wise men, who are standing before him. Over their heads is the star, and under them TRES MAGI. Over Herod, HERODES. Behind his chair stands a person with his right hand expanded as if in astonishment. No inscription.

3. The Conversion of the Heathens.

The heathens turning their backs on an idol temple (in which is an idol standing upon a pillar) follow Christ, who is going up a staircase leading into a Christian temple, within which is a golden cross standing upon an altar, and before which on the ground is a baptismal font.

Over is—

STELLA MAGOS DVXIT. ET EOS AB HERODE
REDVXIT.

(A star led the wise men and brought them back from Herod.)

Under is—

SIC SATHANAM GENTES FVGIVNT : TE XPE
SEQUENTES.¹

(Thus the Gentiles flee from Satan, following thee, O Christ.)

III.—I. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Solomon on his throne, with attendants, receives the Queen of Sheba, who addresses him standing before him. Her attendants are on horseback.

Under is—

REX SALLOM : REGINA SABA.

Round is—

HIC DONAT DONIS REGINA DOMVM SALO-
MINIS.

SIC REGES DOMINO DANT M(VN)ERA TRES
TRIATRINO.

2. The Wise Men offering.

The Virgin sits in the middle with the Child in her lap, but has been broken and badly repaired. On one hand are the wise men offering, over whom is the star. On the other side stand the shepherds. No inscription.

3. Joseph and his Brethren.

Joseph sitting in a chair of state receives on one side his suppliant brethren. On the other side stand the Egyptians. Over his head—

JOSEPH.

At the bottom is—

FRS ISOPH ✠ EGIPTI.

In the round—

AD TE LONGI (NQVOS) IOSEPH ATRAHIS ATQ
PROPINQVOS.

SIC DEUS IN CUNIS IUDEOS GENTIBUS VNIS.

IV.—I. Lot and Sodom.

The destruction of Sodom. The angel conducting Lot and his two daughters, and his wife looking back.

¹ This is in the Latin MS. on Herod and the Magi.

Over is—

VT LOTH SALVETUR NE RESPICIAT BETVR :
PROHI. (Misplaced. For prohibetur.)
SIC VITANT REVEHI : PER HERODIS REGNA
SABET.

2. The Wise Men warned in a Dream.¹

The angel appearing to the wise men, who are on a bed sleeping. The angel holds a scroll on which there remains now only HERODE, the letters SECU before it being a patch. No inscription.

3. Jeroboam and the Prophet.

Jeroboam sacrificing at an altar, by which stand several persons, turns to the prophet, who admonishes him.

Over his head is—

REX IEROBOAM.

Behind the prophet is—

PPHETA.

Over is—

UT VIA MVTETVR REDEVNDO : PPHETA MO-
NETVR.

Under is—

SIC TRES EGERVNT : QUI XPO DONA TVLERUNT.

Over the prophet's head is—

NE REDEAS VIA QUA VENISTI.

V.—1. Samuel presented.

Eli in the temple receives Samuel from Hannah. Over his head HELI SACERDOS. An attendant with the bullock, flour and wine for the offering.

Round is—

GEMINVM. TRIPLEX. OBLATIO. TRINVM.
SIGNIFICAT. DOMINVM. SAMVEL. PUER.
AMPHORA VINUM.

2. Christ presented.

¹ The same subject is in a window in the Cathedral at Le Mans. Westlake, vol. i., p. 11. Also in the MS. book of pictures, *Nero*, c. iv., British Museum, but one king is sitting up in bed listening to the angel.

Simeon in the temple holds out his hands to receive Christ from the Virgin. An attendant stands behind her with a pair of turtle doves for the offering. No inscription.

3. The Pharisees rejecting Christ.

The Pharisees going away from Christ, who holds a scroll.

NISI (MANDUCA) CAVERITIS CARNEM (FILII HOMINIS).

Over is—

SEMEN RORE CARENS EXPERS RATIONIS ET ARENS.

Under is—

HI SVNT QUI CREDVNT TENTANTVR SICQ. RECE(DUNT).

VI.—I. Virginity, Continence and Matrimony.

Represented by three figures, holding each a scroll with their names inscribed—

VIRGO : CONTINENS : CONIVGATVS.

Over is—

ATA TRIA TRES FRVCTUS OPERATA.

Which belonged to another window now broken.

Under is—

SVNT VXORATIS ET VIRGINIBVS VIDVATIS.

2. The Three Just Men, Daniel, Job and Noah.

Holding each a scroll with their names inscribed—
DANIEL : JOB : NOE. Three angels hovering in the air put crowns on their heads.

Round is—

(VERBA P) RIS SE(RVIT DEUS (HIS FRV)CTVS SIBI CREVIT.

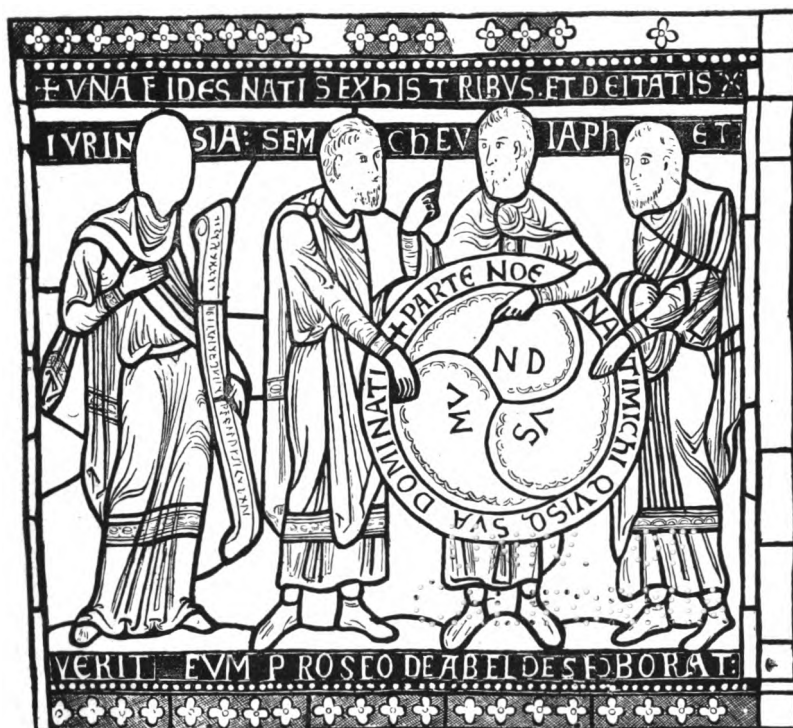
In the remainder of this round is a patch.

REPROBANTUR PARS TADO

IN TELLURE BO(NA TRIPLEX : SVA CVIQV CORONA).

3. The Church and Noah's Three Sons.

“IVRIN is inserted instead of ECCLE.”



THE CHURCH AND NOE'S SONS.

70 7000
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

Over their heads [ECCLE]SIA : SEM : CHEM : JAPHET. The figure representing the church holds a scroll, the characters on which are so placed that they could not be read. Cham holds a circular scroll containing—
PARTE NOE NATI MI(C)HI QVISQ(VE) SVA
DOMINATI.

(Noah's sons ruling for me, each over his own part.)

Over is—

UNA FIDES NATIS EX HIS TRIBVS EST DEL-
TATIS.

(From these three sons is one belief in the Deity.)

Under is—

VERIT : ✠ EUM PRO SEODE ABELDESHOBORAT.
(In the three divisions of the world, MUNDVS is inscribed.)

VII.—1. The Sower.

With the thorns growing up.

Over him—

(SEM)INATOR.

2. The Rich Men of this World.

Two figures (between them is written IVLIANVS MAVRITIUS), one crowned, with a vessel of gold heaped up standing before them. The inscription is—
(ISTI SPI) NOSI (LOCVPLETES] DELICIOSI :
NIL FRUCTUS REFERVNT QVONIAM TERRE-
STRIA [QVERUNT.

3. The Sower and Fowls of the Air.

No inscription.

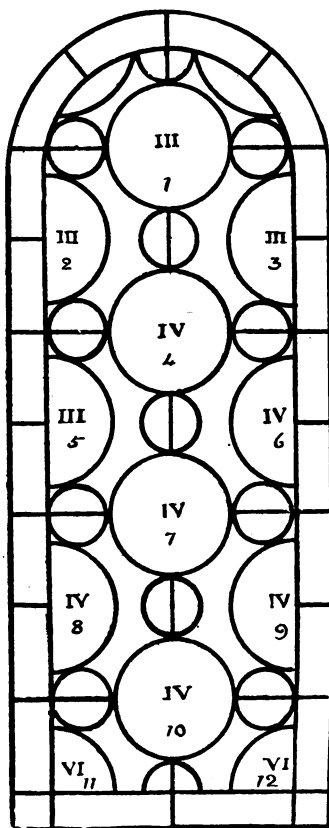
(The last three stages apparently contained the following subjects :—

V.—1. The Pre- sentation of Samuel.	2. The Presen- tation of Christ.	3. The Offering of Melchisedek.
2. The Flight of Elijah.	2. The Flight into Egypt.	3. The Flight of David.
3. The Murder of the Benjamites.	3. The Murder of the Innocents.	3. The Murder of the Priests.)

WINDOW II.

(This, the third window, has only four remaining of the original set of medallions, *i.e.*, the first three and Noah in the Ark. The remainder are from the fourth, fifth and sixth windows.)

The pictures in the next window consist of large round pieces, and half-rounds alternately.



PLAN 3.

1. Jesus among the Doctors.

Under is—

IHS DVODENNIS IN MEDIO DOCTRUM.

Nothing round.

2. Jethro seeing Moses judging the People.

Moses sitting in a regal chair hears the Israelites who are standing before him. Jethro stands attentive beside him.

Over Moses—

MOYSES.

Behind Jethro—

JETHRO.

Round is—

SIC HOMINES (AV) DIT I SIC HINC VIR SANCTVS
OBAV DIT.

GENTILIS VERBIS HVMILES SVNT FORMA SVPER-
BIS.

3. Daniel among the Elders.

Over him—

DANIEL.

Round is—

MIRANTVR PVERI SENIORES (VOC) E DOCERI.
SIC RES (PONSA DEI SENSVMQ STVPENT
PHARISEI).

4. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.

Christ bids the Apostles draw the net into the ship.

Under is—

PISCATIO APLORUM : RETE RVPITVR.

5. Noah receives the Dove bringing the Olive Branch into the Ark.

Under is—

NOE IN ARCHA.

Round is—

FLVXV CVNCTA VAGO SVBMERGENS PRIMA
VORAGO.

OMNIA PVRGAVIT BAPTISMAQVE SIGNIFICA-
VIT.

6. The Six Ages of Man, SEX HOMINIS (ETATES), represented by as many figures ; over each was his title, INFANTIA, PUERITIA, ADOLESCENTIA JUVEN-
TUS, VIRILITAS, SENECTUS which was round it has

been rubbed off by injudicious cleaning (as indeed have many words in other parts of the windows), and a fragment of another put with it.

7. The Marriage in Cana.

Jesus at a table with the guests. In the foreground stand the six water pots with the servant pouring water into them, in allusion to which are formed the allegorical pictures given in Nos. 6 and 8. (The heads of the three figures to the right are false. Opposite to the figure of our Lord is a fish on a plate.)

8. The Six Ages of the Church.

Represented by six persons, over whom is written (MUNDI) SEX ETATES. You must begin with the person at the bottom, and you will find their names as you ascend, in the following order :—

ADAM, NOE, ABRAH, DAVID, JECHONIAS, the name of JESVS, the sixth person, is not written, his figure being everywhere distinguished by three bright spots in the red nimbus surrounding his head. The inscription round, which has suffered much in cleaning, is—

HYDRIA METRETAS CAPIENS, EST QUELIBET
ETAS LYMPHA DAT HISTORIAM VINVM
NOTAT ALLEGORIAM.

9. S. Peter with the Jewish Converts.

Peter sitting. By him S. PETRVS. At the bottom sits a female figure, under which is ECCL(ES)IA DE JV-DEIS. Under a building on one side are the Pharisees going away. Over them, PHARISEI.

Round is—

VERBVM RETE RATIS PETRI. DOMVS HEC
PIETATIS: PISCES JVDEI. QVI RETE FERANT:
PHARISEI.

10. The calling of Nathanael.

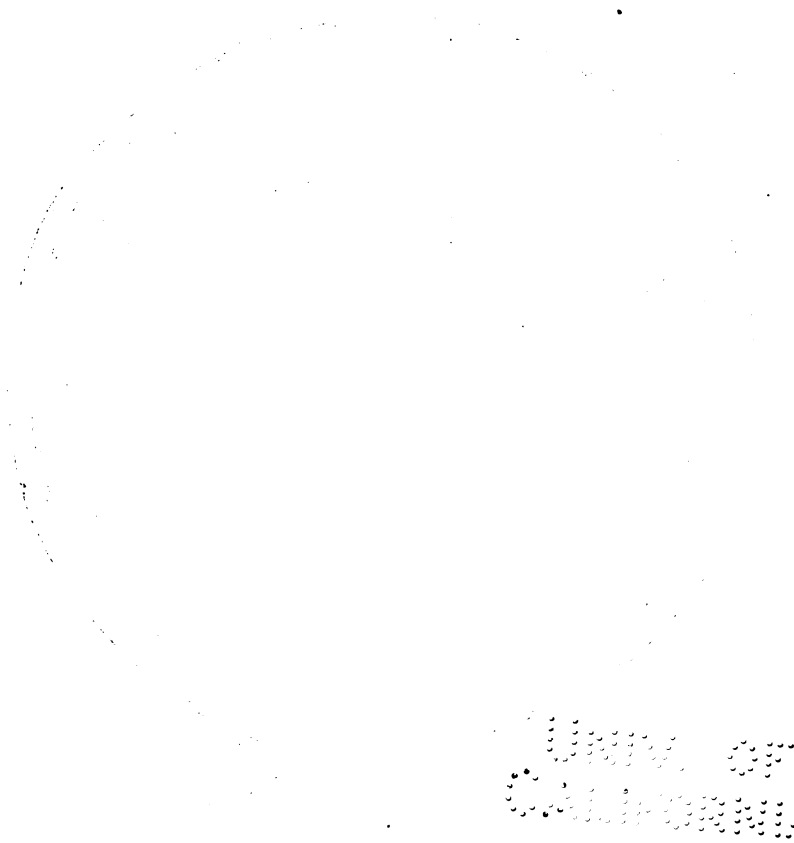
This picture consists of two parts. In one is represented Philip speaking to Nathanael sitting under the fig tree ; over them is respectively, PHILIPP, NATHANAEL, FICUS.



THE MARRIAGE IN CANA.



THE CALLING OF NATHANIEL.





THE FORESTER.

TO THE
SINGULAR

In the other is represented JESUS (distinguished by his nimbus) receiving Nathanael, Peter and Andrew standing by. Over them PETRVS, ANDREAS, NATHANAEL. Nathanael holds in his hand a scroll containing UNDE ME NOSTI. In Christ's hand is a scroll broken, and illegible.

11. The Pharisees rejecting the Gospel.

Round is—

HI SVNT VERBA DEI QVI CONTEMNUNT
PHARISEI.

Almost rubbed out—

12. The Gentiles seeking the Gospel.

Round is—

SOLICITE GENTES SVNT VERBA DEI SITIENTES.

THE TRIFORIUM (NORTH SIDE).

“The upper range of windows in the western part of both aisles, having been entirely demolished, have since been filled up with fragments from other places, and however beautiful the colours may be, there is no making out what they are intended to represent.”¹

WEST WINDOW NO 1.

These three medallions are not in their original position. The scrolling of the window had to be cut to fit them in here.

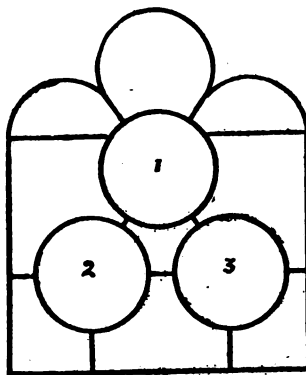
1. Is composed of fragments of angel wings, of our Lord in clouds, and of a large figure of a priest.

2. This medallion from its original size and border appears to have belonged to I., South Side of the Trinity Chapel.

It represents the story of Adam, a forester, who had “caught three men who had killed a wild beast. One of

¹ Hasted, 2nd ed., 1801, p. 379.

them casting a dart pierced the throat of his assailant,"¹ who is falling backwards. His companion holds an axe in one hand. To the right one of the outlaws is walking away with



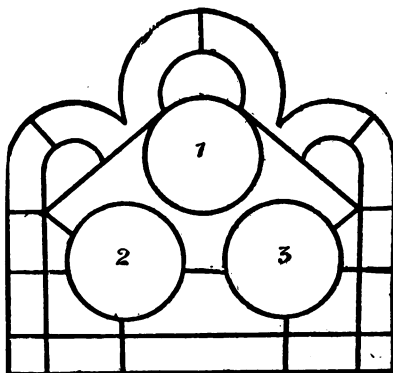
PLAN 4.

the deer slung on a pole over his shoulder. The inscription is: *Fur fugiens guttur perforat insequentis.* (The fleeing thief pierces the throat of his pursuer.)

3. Was originally a quatrefoil and has been cut to fit in here. It is filled with fragments of angel wings, etc.

CENTRE WINDOW.

In this window is the earliest glass. The scrolling is in its original place.



PLAN 5.

¹ Will. I., 342.



THE SIEGE OF CANTERBURY.



THE TAKING OF S. ALPHEGE.

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THE MURDER OF THE MONKS.

Plate 8.

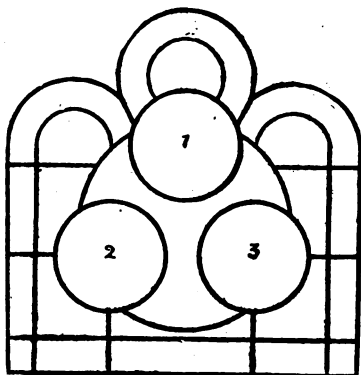
Page 17.

1. Is filled with fragments.
2. The siege of Canterbury by the Danes. From the castle wall two knights are piercing the enemy with their lances and two are hurling stones. On either side of the entrance are also four knights doing the same ; only part of the one to the right has gone.
3. Removed from another window. This was originally a quatrefoil, fragments of crowns, a ruby nimbus and hand, and great white star.

THIRD WINDOW.

Part of the border and scrolling in their original place.

1. The remains of a figure seated on a throne. Another figure approaches with hands extended.
2. In its original place, but it ought to be turned round to the right.



PLAN 6.

Archbishop Alphege is being taken on board the Danish vessel by a knight holding his right arm, and by another pushing him from behind.

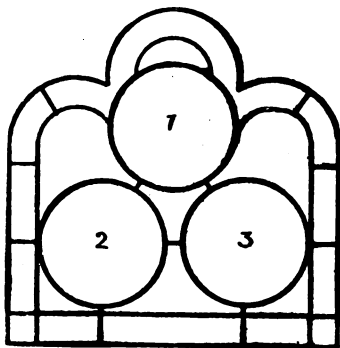
3. Fragments of the murder of the monks and apparently of the Archbishop. The head has gone, but a mitre and part of the pall remain.

TRIFORIUM (SOUTH SIDE).

The three windows on this side were restored by Mr. Caldwell about 1866 by the order of Dean Alfred.

WINDOW I.

Is probably from a window in the Trinity Chapel, perhaps the first on the south side. It and five other medallions belong to the story of William of Kellett, the wounded carpenter.¹ Borders have been added to make them fit. The story relates how William had vowed to go to the shrine of S. Thomas, but had neglected to do so. He had, however, in shutting up his house in the morning, made the sign of the Cross on his forehead, and commended him-



PLAN 7.

self to the saint's protection. When at work, his hand slipped "and the steel of the axe buried itself in his shin". Fortunately the saint remembering his morning prayer, forgives and heals him. The way in which the story should be read is as follows : III.—1. He is wounded. I.—1. He is being bandaged. II.—2. He has a vision. I.—3. He recovers. II.—1. He makes an offering. II.—3. He joyfully leaves the city.

1. The leg is being bandaged by a woman, part of whose drapery is new. Inscription : *Ligaturam solvit vulnus non*

¹ Will. I., 273.



WILLIAM OF KELLETT.

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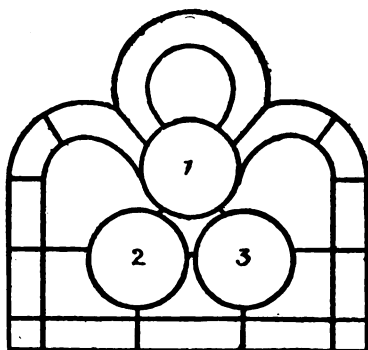
repperit (perhaps, solvit linteolum, vuluus non repperit ullam). He loosed the linen cloth, he did not find any wound.

2. Possibly the story of John of Roxburgh,¹ the first part being in III.—3. He was thrown from his horse into the Tweed. With the saint's help, he reached the toll-keeper's cottage on the bridge, when he suddenly sank down deprived of sight and hearing. He is represented lying with closed eyes on his white cloak, the toll-keeper's wife holding up one of his arms. A great fire is lit. The smoke is new, but copied from a fragment, probably from the fifth window, south side, in the Trinity Chapel. There are no less than seven borders, three being added.²

3. Represents William of Kellett sitting up in bed and drinking. All the heads are new, and much of the rest.

WINDOW II.

1. William is kneeling before the altar with its relics. All the figures, excepting the left-hand one, are new.



PLAN 8.

¹ Will. I., 296.

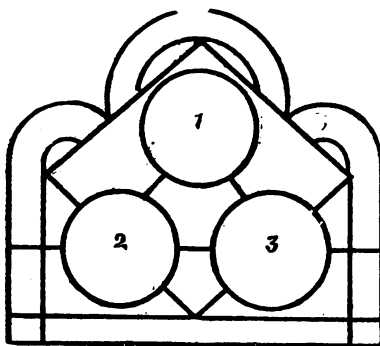
² With regard to the difficulty of identifying the stories related in the chronicles, Mr. Westlake remarks that "variations constantly occur in mediæval repetition of events related to the artist". The stories of the miracles being unknown in later days, heads and figures are often introduced to supply deficiencies with no connection. In the same way the inscriptions are sometimes treated and shifted from one medallion to another. Letters of various alphabets which may happen to fit are inserted, and sometimes upside down.

2. William is rewarded for saying, "Let not mortal aid be sought. I commit the whole case to the Lord and to the martyr, Thomas." The saint appears to him in a dream, and he is healed, and says, "Loose my leg, I am whole". Much of this medallion is new, but the figure of William is original.

3. He is leaving the city after his cure, with his axe in his hand. The city is partly new. Part of the ruby scrolling on the right is from the second window, north side, Trinity Chapel. It was cut up to fit in here. Some of the scrolling is taken from the sixth window on the south side of Trinity Chapel.

WINDOW III.

With the exception of the lowest part, the border is the same as in II. The right and left shoulders have been partly cut out of other windows.



PLAN 9.

1. Represents William with the axe which has just slipped and cut his leg.

2. Is from another window, perhaps the fifth, south side, Trinity Chapel. A boy sitting up on a bed, resting on a bier covered by a pall. The heads and part of the drapery new. Perhaps the story of Philip Scot, who was drowned while stoning a frog as it came out of the swamp.¹

¹ Will. I., 200.

The inscription may be—

Dat vires sanctus vertunt in gaudia planctus. (The saint gives strength, lamentations are changed to rejoicings.)

3. May be the first part of the story of John of Roxburgh. The horse is being pulled by the bridle out of the water.

THE NORTH AND SOUTH TRANSEPTS OF THE CHOIR.

In the north transept are the remains of a very beautiful rose window. The two central subjects represent Moses (left) holding the Tables of the Law, and a figure representing the Synagogue holding the Levitical books. Around are the cardinal virtues. Justice with a pair of scales stooping over a bag of gold, and on either side, Prudence with two birds, and Temperance with a cup and lighted torch. At the base is Fortitude slaying a serpent. Around are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. Probably the minor prophets were in the outer circle. The heads of Moses and the Synagogue were replaced about 1859.¹

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

The late Mr. George Austin made the present arrangement in modern glass, calling the window the new Church. The Apostles, Evangelists and virtues are represented in imitation of the old, and pronounced by Mr. Westlake to be probably correct.²

TRINITY CHAPEL AND BECKET'S CROWN.

“And now I shall desire that you would take notice of the Windowes, especially in the Church's upper part, which both for the glasse and Iron-worke thereof are well worthy of your observation. This part of the Church was highly commended by Malmesbury in his time, amongst other

¹ Gostling, p. 327.

² Westlake, p. 69.

things, for this ornament. Nihil tale possit in Anglia videri, etc., saith he. And I think his words hold true still (1640). And I beleeeve as much may be said of the Iron-worke about them, apparently various, and offer to our view certaine verses containing a parallel of the old and new Testament.”¹

The windows are supposed to date from 1220-1240.²

THEIR ORIGIN.

Mr. Westlake says : “ There are histories of S. Thomas very similar to those in many churches of France, and some fragments of a series remain at Lincoln. Those at Chartres and Sens especially abound in such close resemblances of design and detail, that I am convinced they were designed and executed by the same hand as the Canterbury work, and that the windows or the artists were imported into England from France.”³

“ It would be an easy matter for any package of glass to have been transplanted from either Sens or Chartres to England. Sens is on the river Vanne, which falls into the Yonne close by ; this falls into the Seine at Fontainebleau.”⁴

“ At Fordwich (on the Stour) the Prior and Convent of Canterbury were, at the time of their suppression, possessed of a marsh here, called Prior’s Marsh, containing 20 acres. Fordwich was a great resort for ships. The ships were moored there, and laden and unladen. In 1285, a composition was made between the Prior and Abbot of S. Augustine’s about the customs. The Prior of Canterbury had a house upon the shore.”⁵

The intercourse between Canterbury and Chartres is shown by the following extract :—

“ In July, 1176, the Dean of Chartres, with the members of his chapter, came to Canterbury. Their bishop being

¹ Somner, p. 175.

² Westlake, p. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 107-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 127.

⁵ Hasted, vol. iii., p. 604.



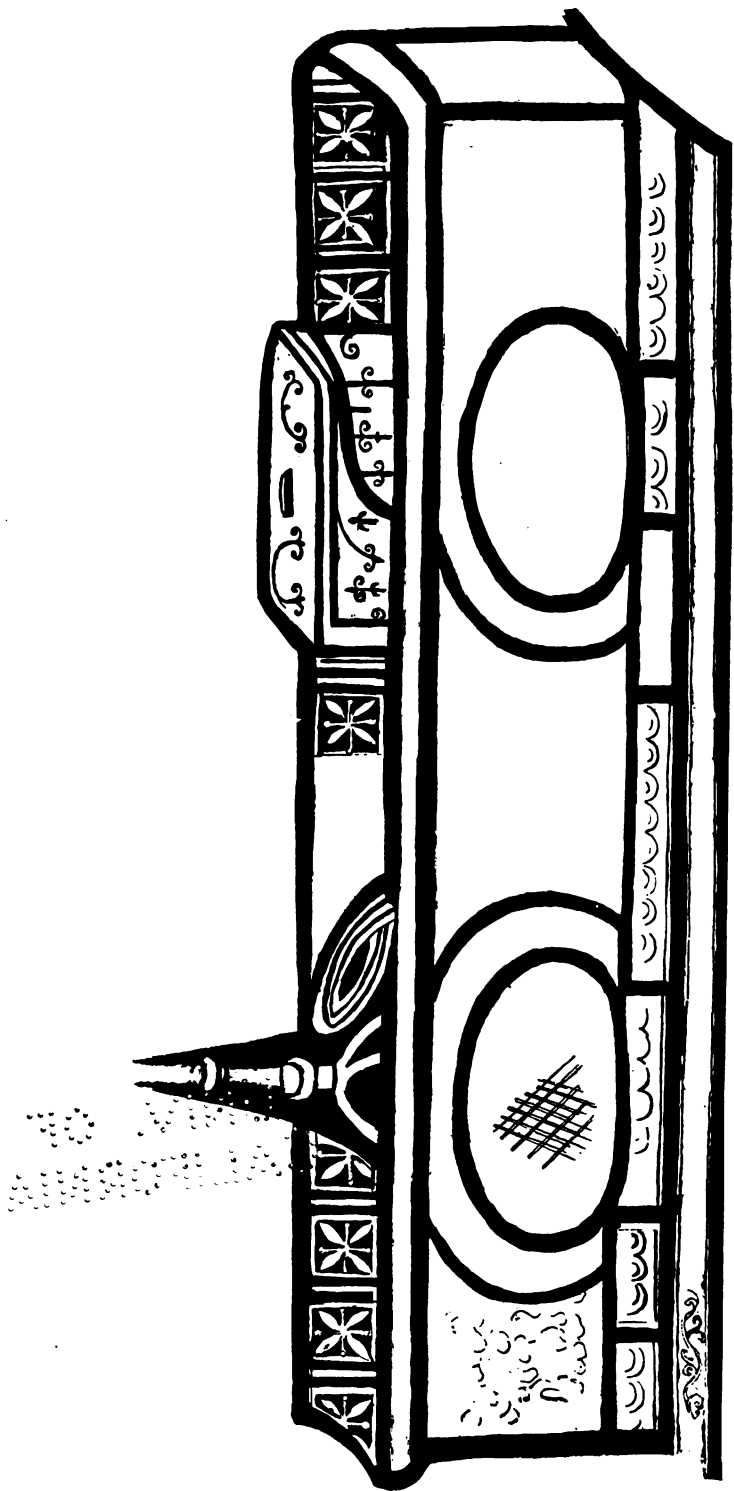


Plate 10.

THE TOMB IN THE CRYPT.

dead, they came to beg that Becket's friend and counsellor, John, Archdeacon of Salisbury, might be permitted to occupy the vacant See."¹

THE STORIES.

The stories of the miracles are taken from the collections mentioned beneath.

"Within a few years after the death of Archbishop Thomas, two collections of his miracles were produced by monks of his Cathedral Church. The first was by Benedict, afterwards Prior of Canterbury, and eventually Abbot of Peterborough; the other was by William, and although Benedict appears to have been both earlier in time and more eminent as a member of the monastic community, it would seem that William's narration of the miracles was considered as the more important of the two, on account probably of its greater extent, and also of a kind of official authority which it derived from having been presented by the monks of Christ Church to King Henry II."² "It would seem that William held some office in connection with the tomb of S. Thomas, as we find him receiving pilgrims and listening to their stories."³ "Benedict, after having been chancellor (or secretary) to Archbishop Richard, became Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1175."⁴ "Like William, he seems to have held office in connection with the tomb."⁵

THE TOMB OF BECKET IN THE CRYPT.

"The tomb was in the easternmost part of Ernulf's Crypt. The sick were admitted to visit it for the first time on 2nd April, 1171." "For 50 years it continued to be the central object of interest for crowds of Canterbury pilgrims

¹ Scott Robertson, p. 36.

² Robertson, vol. i., xxvii.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., xxx.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., xxiii.

between 1170 and 1220.”¹ “The monks erected around it strong walls, formed of great stones firmly compacted with mortar, lead and iron. Two window-like apertures were left in each of the four walls, and through them pilgrims, by inserting their heads, might kiss the sarcophagus. These apertures are represented in some coloured windows of the choir as being of oval shape. Over the top of the enclosing walls a huge stone was placed. It was so arranged that between this top stone and the lid of the sarcophagus a concave structure intervened, affording a hollow space about twelve inches deep. Into this shallow space some pilgrims managed to creep through one of the windows, expecting to receive greater benefit from close contact with the coffin itself.”² “After the fire, as the older Trinity Chapel was swept away in order to make room for the larger and more beautiful work, a temporary wooden chapel was constructed around the tomb until the time should come when the body might be translated to the shrine erected by Walter of Colchester and Elias of Dereham in the completed building of William the Englishman.”³

“When the saint’s blood had been found to possess a miraculous power, there was a fear lest it should be soon exhausted. This fear suggested the experiment of mixing it with water, and that the minutest drop of the sacred blood gave to the mass of water a share of its own miraculous efficacy.”⁴

“At first the water was put in wooden boxes, sometimes with little mirrors. Afterwards, as they leaked, leaden bottles (ampulle) were used and became the token of the Pilgrims.”⁵

The twelve windows in the Trinity Chapel were originally “filled with glass representing the miracles of Becket”. The Auditor of the Cathedral, William Somner, writes in 1640 :

¹ *The Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral*, by Canon Scott Robertson, pp. 32-34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ Robertson, vol. ii., xxxviii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., xxx.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxi.

“the legend of whose miracles, were it utterly lost, might easily, I think, be replaced from the windows on each side of the place where the shrine sometime stood, abounding altogether with the story thereof”.

Two years later,¹ the great destruction took place, beginning “with the windowe on the east of the high altar, and many window-Images or pictures in glasse were demolished that day”.

In 1660 Somner writes again: “The windowes famous for strength and beauty generally battered and broken, as they lay exposed to the injury of all weathers”.

In 1721 they are spoken of as “so mended and confused as not to afford much speculation”.²

In 1772 the windows on the north side are said to have been “preserved by the buildings adjacent from that destruction which those on the south have suffered”. In one window a “pretty regular series of transactions concerning the martyrdom and burial of Becket may be traced”.³

Hasted says: “They were designed to represent the passion of S. Thomas with the story of his miracles. Part of the glass on the north side of Becket’s Chapel remains yet; great part has been destroyed, and though the windows in Becket’s Crown appear at a little distance entire, yet they have suffered in many places, and have been but very awkwardly mended.”⁴ For some time the lower parts of the remaining windows, to the height of about three medallions, were plain white quarries.⁵ Later, perhaps in 1799, some medallions were removed to the triforium, some to the north and south choir transepts, and two to the south transept in the nave. The late Mr. George Austin re-arranged in part the three Becket windows and the east window, which was “black and broken,” filling up the vacancies with new subjects or copies of the old.

¹ Aug. 26, 1642.—*Cathedral News*.

² Dart, p. 32.

³ Barnby, p. 37.

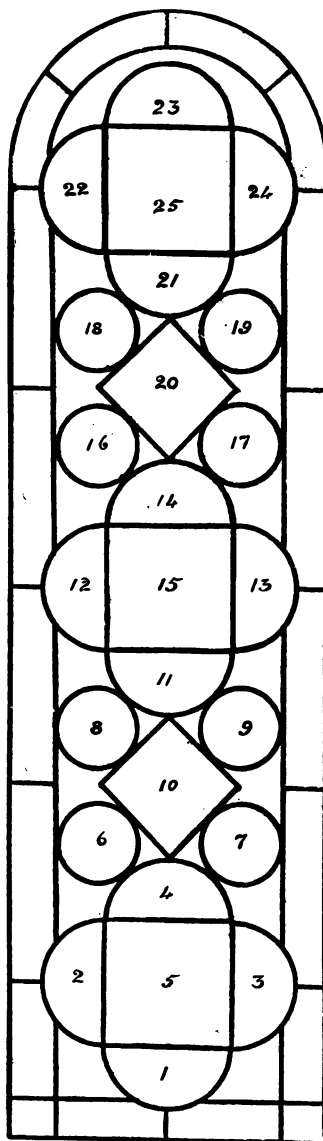
⁴ Hasted, vol. iv., p. 529.

⁵ The blank spaces partly represented in Wild’s *Perspective Views*, p. 14.

BECKET'S CROWN.

EAST WINDOW.

The subjects represented in the east window are the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Resurrection, the Ascension



PLAN 10.

and Pentecost, each surrounded by four types. Five of the medallions are new, but all available old fragments were introduced. The scrolls at the base are new, and two lengths of bordering on either side. These were placed when the whole window, which was "black and broken," was re-leaded about 1853 by Mr. Caldwell, under the direction of his master, the late Mr. George Austin. The border much resembles one at Soissons and also one at Bourges, "and the panel of the Spies is very much like one at Chartres".¹

1. The Spies. The heads are both new and also the pink drapery.

2. Moses striking the Rock.	} Are all in their original state.
3. The Paschal Lamb.	
4. The Sacrifice of Isaac.	

5. The Crucifixion. From a design in Mr. Austin's possession.

10. The Entombment is unrestored.

6. Joseph in the Well. The head of Joseph and parts of the drapery are new.

7. Daniel in Babylon.	} Are unrestored.
8. Samson and Delilah.	
9. Jonah cast into the Sea.	

15. The centre subject—The Resurrection—is new, also the subjects on either side.

12. Noah receiving the Dove is new; had "all gone".

13. The Escape of the Spies is new.

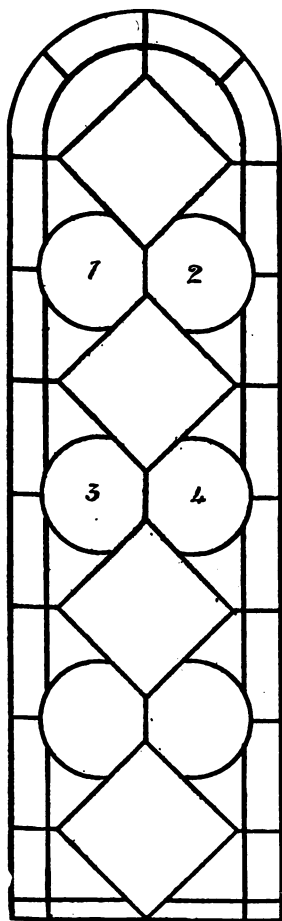
11. The Burning Bush and Moses is old.

14. The Landing of Jonah is old. But his drapery is new, and the whale received a new head.

20. The centre subject—The Ascension. Some of the heads are new.

¹ Westlake.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 16. The Ark of the Mercy-seat. | } | Are all unrestored. |
| 17. The Burial of Moses. | | |
| 18. The Ascension of Elijah. | | |
| 19. The Sundial of Ahaz. | | |
| 25. Pentecost. | | |
| 21. The Giving of the Law. | } | |
| 22. The Ordination of Deacons. | | |
| 23. Our Lord in Majesty is new. | | |
| 24. The First Council is unrestored. | | |



PLAN II.

THIRD WINDOW. TRINITY CHAPEL, NORTH SIDE.

Four medallions. Eight of the upper roundels and part of the border are original. The remainder is the work of Mr. Caldwell, from old fragments, 1894.

1 and 2. Represent pilgrims on their way to the shrine. There are many stories of shipwrecked mariners and of others, who, on their way to Compostella, were repulsed by furious winds and brought back to Sandwich harbour, when the Crosses destined for S. James were presented to the shrine of the "liberator," S. Thomas.¹

3. A king resting on a bed may possibly represent Henry II. relating his vision to Benedict, who is standing by holding a scroll with an inscription.² "In consequence of his vision, and reflecting on the accidents and dangers which happen to mortals, with promises unfulfilled, he grants to the Church the liberties he had promised."³ The head of the king is of a later date.

4. Represents a cure.

FOURTH WINDOW.

The ground is diapered. Three lengths on either of the side borders are new.

1. An offering at the tomb.

2. The saint with a nimbus feeling the pulse of a man in bed. Inscription—*Qua dolet, hac planat; dolet his tribus, et tria sanat.* (Where it pains, there he smooths. It pains in these three places, and he heals the three.)

3. A woman is being dragged by two others towards a woman under a portico. Partly new.

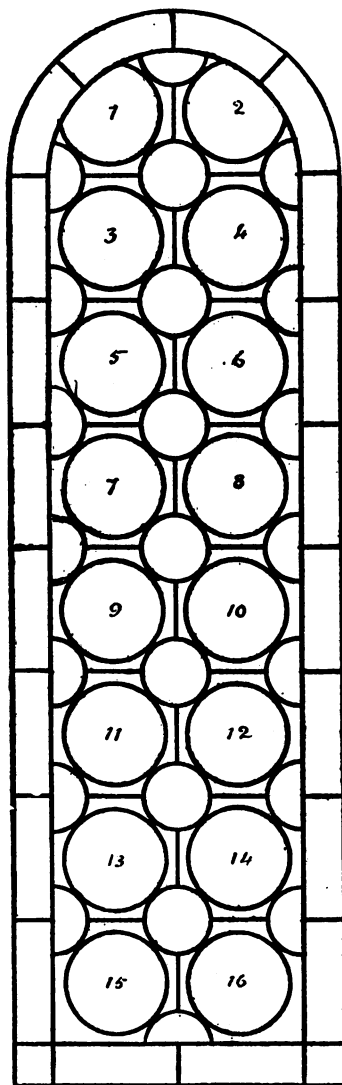
4. A woman sitting down with her feet in a bowl. A

¹ Bened. II., p. 112.

² Will. I., p. 493.

³ A clause was inserted in one of the treaties between Louis VII. and Henry II. allowing one of Louis' best artists in glass to come to England. Westlake, vol. i., p. 39.

figure kneels before her with a towel. Three other figures, one holding a bowl and another a bottle for the water.



PLAN 12.

5, 6, 7, 8. Are all new copies of the story of William of Kellett.

9. A figure, supported by another, is kneeling with clasped hands before a priest at the altar.

10. The same figure kneeling at the altar. He has taken off his green drapery. The right leg is diseased, the other has a red stocking and yellow shoe. A priest addresses him. Before them is a shoe. The inscription is—*est baculus, vestis, pero cunctis ibi testis.* (The crutch, coat, boot is a witness there to all men.) The story probably relates to Robert of Cricklade, Prior of S. Frideswide. He was walking “beside the Adriatic Sea when the surf of the sea gave him a swelling on the foot with a very bad inflammation, so that he could not put on or draw off his boot without great pain”.¹ He was cured by anointing his foot with the holy water (see Story III.). This story was one which made its way to Iceland.²

11. A lady in a chair in great exhaustion. A friend or nurse sitting by her and a priest addresses her. His head, the candlesticks and the pink drapery new.

12. The lady kneels and offers a coil.³ A priest hastens to meet her.

14. A madman, whose hands are bound with cords, is made to kneel at the tomb. Two men are preparing to beat him. *Amens accedit* is the inscription.

13. He is quietly kneeling. *Sanus recedit* is the inscription. (He comes a madman, but goes away sane.) One of the keepers lifts up his hand in astonishment. The cords and whips lie on the ground no longer needed.

15. Is copied in II.—7. A woman going to drink the holy water. A man standing by explains the case to the priest.

16. The priest is stirring up the draught for a woman

¹ Bened. II., p. 97.

² Margesson, p. 93.

³ “It was usual to measure with a thread the body or the affected member of sufferers, and to vow a model, a silver thread, or most frequently a wax candle of the like dimensions, to be offered at the tomb.” Canon Robertson, ii., xxix.

who is being helped forward by another. She has presented a coil.

FIFTH WINDOW.

Six lengths of the border and parts of the lowest scrolling are new, and quarter circles.

1. The saint appears to Benedict, who is on a couch beneath. He is represented emerging from the Shrine.¹ "It was covered with plates of gold, damasked and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with broches, images, angels, chaines, pretious stones and great orient pearls."²

2. A man seated on a chair with diseased leg. One attendant is washing the leg. Another brings a bowl, another a towel. *Detumet in voto lavacro (gravitas) prece, sanguine, poto.* (In making the vow, the severe swelling is reduced by prayer and the blood and the draught.)

3. A woman with bare leg about to kneel at the tomb. Some of the figures are new. The inscription imperfect, but conjectured to be—*Magnificat sanctum, satiat medicamine planctum.* (She magnifies the saint, she satisfies the lamentation with medicine.)

4. A man half dressed is sitting in a chair, and bends forwards to receive some clothes another man is bringing. Perhaps Godwin of Boxgrove, who distributed all his clothes that he might be an example of voluntary poverty.³

5. The story of a blind lady and her blind attendant feeling their way to the tomb.

6. The bandages are removed, the staff left behind, and they are represented turning round to take one more look as they return.

7, 8, 9. Are all new, being copies of 15, 16, 12 in I.

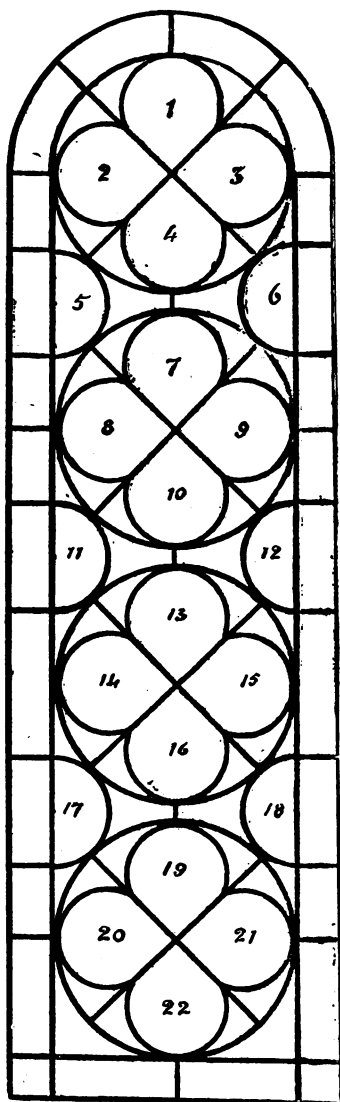
10, 11, 12. Is the story of two lame damsels, who from their very cradles had supported themselves on crutches

¹ Bened., p. 27.

² Stow, quoted by Somner, p. 247.

³ Will. I., p. 339.

rather than on their feet. They are represented going to the shrine. While they were both imploring the martyr to



PLAN 13.

heal them, a sleep fell upon the elder. The saint promised her health and granted it. She is represented giving thanks.

The younger blamed the saint, and cried out, "Hast thou but one blessing?" etc., and as she wept the holy father came to her as she slept, (12) and restored her to health.¹ (The saint is new.)

THE THIRD CIRCLE

Contains the story of Eilward and Fulk, who quarrelled over a debt. Eilward breaks into Fulk's house and is seized by him and taken before a magistrate.²

13. He is riding out of the city.

14. He is brought before two men, who hold him fast before the judge.

15. His eye is being put out.

17. The saint touches the eye and heals him.

16. He is pointing with one hand to the restored eye, and with the other giving money to a group of beggars, one of whom, with legs turned in, supports himself on a board with irons, as is sometimes seen now. On the other side, one man has a purse or wallet and passes the money on to Eilward. *Dat ille stipes pauperibus.* Perhaps—*Sanatus dat mille stipes pauperibus ille.* (Healed, he gives a thousand alms to the poor.)

18. Is new. He is giving thanks.

THE FOURTH CIRCLE

Contains the story of the physician of Périgord, who was cured of dropsy by drinking the holy water.³

19. He is sitting up in bed, and the priest is bringing it. *Desperant medici, pater (eretes), et morientes amici.* (The doctors, father and friends of the dying man are hopeless.)

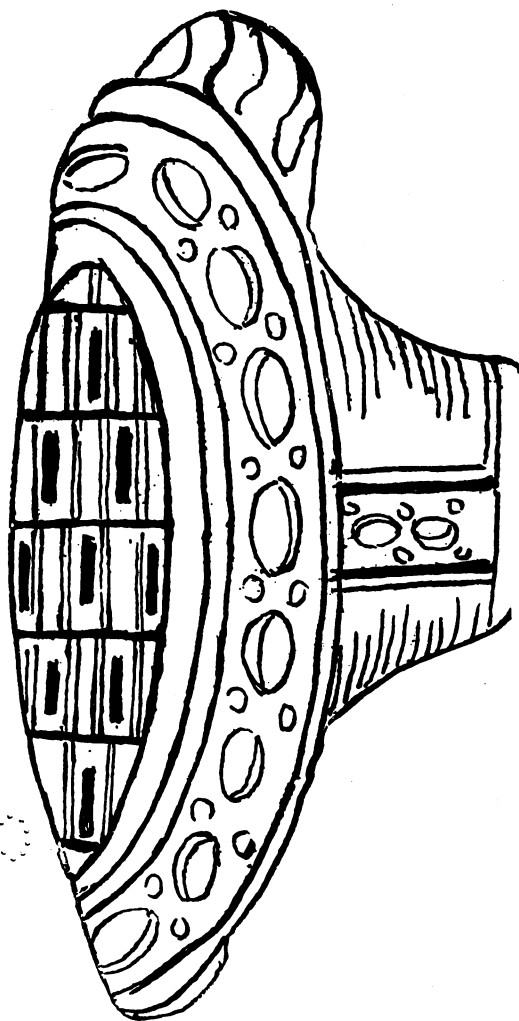
20. The physician receiving the last Sacraments. Part of the figures are new; the one behind. *Spes desperanti superest in sanguine sancti.* (To the hopeless there remains

¹ Bened. II., p. 170.

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ Will. I., p. 261.

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Page 35.

ON THE ALTAR.

Plate II.

hope in the blood of the saint.) What is conjectured to be a wafer box is on the altar.

21. He is dying.

22. Is new. He is giving thanks. *Est baculus vestis pero cre sibi testis pero.*

SIXTH WINDOW.

The border of this is identical with that of S. Eustace at Sens. Three lengths of border on each side are new.

1. A man in green tunic and yellow cloak is helping a blind woman.

2. He leads her with difficulty to the tomb, where the priest hastens to give her something.

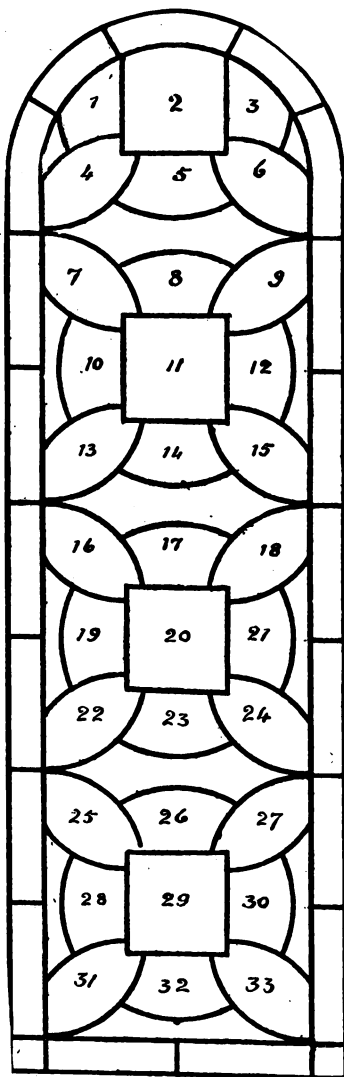
3. She is restored and talking to the man who led her. The inscription over 1 is—*Pastor alendorum curam puer egit equorum.* (The shepherd boy has taken care of the horses to be fed.) Evidently it might belong to the story beneath.

4. Represents a man driving four horses. The trees meet on either side of the road.

5. He is sleeping under a tree, and the horses are left to themselves. Over is—*Sanctus sopitur lepras* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vulnusque} \\ \text{ulcuçque} \end{array} \right.$
operitur. (Misplaced.) (The saint soothes the leprosy and covers over the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wound.} \\ \text{ulcer.} \end{array} \right.$)

5. Perhaps the story of an Irish soldier, Walter, who turned his horses loose in the enclosure of a Chapel dedicated to the saint at Dublin without any one to look after them. The horses were stolen, "and he very nearly accused the martyr Thomas, as he had trusted to him, but believing more was to be done by invocations than accusations, he took refuge in prayer," and the robber, who was carrying off the horses, lost his way and found himself back in the place

in the morning where he had committed the robbery, and so he set the horses free and fled.¹



PLAN 14.

6. A man in bed holding out his hands for some clothes which a woman is bringing to him on a tray. The woman's

¹ Will. I., p. 545.

mouth is covered. *Omnibus abjectus vix sic a matre reffectus.* (Cast out by all men, he is thus hardly revived by his mother.)

7. A man and woman standing at the tomb, before which a young man is kneeling.

8. Two men address a knight and lady.

9. A young man making an offering at the tomb.

10, 11, 12. Are new, and copies from the story beneath of the knight Jordan. In 12 the woman is original.

13, 14, 15. Is the story of a boy at Rochester, named Robert, who had been drowned in the Medway. The boys, who have been pelting frogs in the sedges, are shouting that Robert has slipped in the river. He is disappearing in the water beside three large green frogs.¹

2. The boys run and tell the mother, who exclaims : "Gracious Thomas, martyr of God, restore to me my son !"

3. He had fallen in at the ninth hour and at that of vespers. He was pulled out by a man with an iron hook. (He offers a silver thread.²) The mother is holding out her hands to receive the body of her child ; the father behind.

16, 17, 18. Are new. 16 is a copy of 7. 17 is the story of Richard the Smith, cured of blindness. 18. His offering.

19. A maniac woman struggling between two men who are about to beat her with sticks. Perhaps—*Alternant mentem, gestum quoque vincla furentein.* (Chains make her } mind, and {her } mad bearing too, come and go.)
his }

20. The figure is falling fainting to the ground. One of the attendants is still striking her, the other addressing the priest, who is reading. *Stat modo jucunda (quae) lapsa jacet moribunda.*

21. She is bowing before the priest at the altar, who is receiving a large candle apparently offered by her. Two

¹ Bened. II., p. 226.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

men with long robes stand by. Perhaps the story "of a little woman named Matilda possessed by a devil, and we shrunk from her as she showed her madness before our very eyes".¹

22, 23, 24. Are copies from the story of the physician of Périgord in the fifth window.

The next nine compartments are the history of the household of a distinguished knight Jordan.²

31. The nurse dies. The body, covered by a large yellow pall, is borne on a bier carried by four men. A second priest is bearing a huge lighted taper. The inscription is—*Nutricis funus reliquis sui flagra minatur*. Then the son dies, a boy of ten.

32. He is stretched on a bier, the priest at the head anoints the body with holy water, and on the forehead of the child is the Viaticum or sacred wafer. The mother absorbed in deep grief, and the father wringing his hands. *Perculitur puer moritur planetus geminatur*. There arrived that day twenty pilgrims from whom the father borrowed some diluted water.

33. The mother stands at the head of the bier. The father pours between the clenched lips the wonder-working blood and water. The pilgrims reverently gazing. *Vox patris, vis martiris ut restituatur*. A small spot of red showed itself on the left cheek of the boy. He opened one eye and said: "Why are you weeping, father? Why are you crying, Lady? The blessed martyr Thomas has restored me to you."

25. The father puts into his son's hands four pieces of silver to be an offering to the martyr before Mid Lent.

26. The son is upon a couch fast recovering, feeding himself with a spoon and bason. But the vow is forgotten.

27. A leper three miles off is aroused from slumber by a voice calling him by name: "Guirp, why sleepest thou?"

¹ Bened. II., p. 208.

² Dean Stanley; Will. I., p. 160; Bened. II., p. 229.

and tells him he must go and warn the knight Jordan of the evils that would befall him unless he instantly performed the vow.

28. The leper is in bed, conveying to the parents the warning. They fix the last week in Lent for the performance of the vow. But a visit of the Lord Warden puts it out of their heads. The ~~boy~~ dies and twenty of the household fell sick. *eldest son* Credutis accedis vot, fert nec obedit.

29. At the head and feet of the corpse are the figures, probably professional mourners. Unseen is the figure of S. Thomas. He bears in his hand a sword. Vindictæ moles Domus egra et mortua proles. (Weight of punishment—household sick and offspring dead.)

30. The accomplishment of the vow. The father is offering a large bowl full of gold and silver pieces. Near him is the mother holding by the hand the boy, now quite well.

TRINITY CHAPEL (SOUTH SIDE).

FIRST WINDOW, EAST.

Possibly the six medallions of the Kellett series now in the south triforium, and the Forester in the north, were originally in this window. The eight half circles appear to belong to the fifth window, south side, Trinity Chapel, and were placed here to fill up the vacancies after the great destruction. In 1893, by order of the late Dean Payne Smith, the window was completed by Mr. Caldwell, who added eight medallions from fragments of old glass.

1 and 2. In their original position.

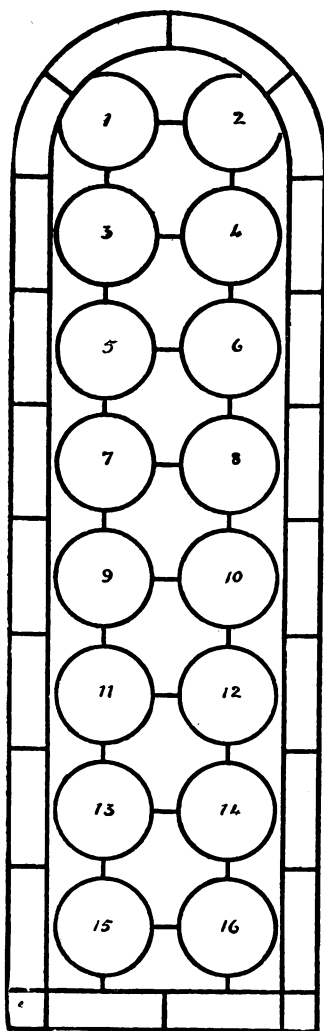
3 and 4. By Mr. Caldwell.

5. In two parts. A boat, in which is a figure with a pole. The other half contains fragments of a river scene.

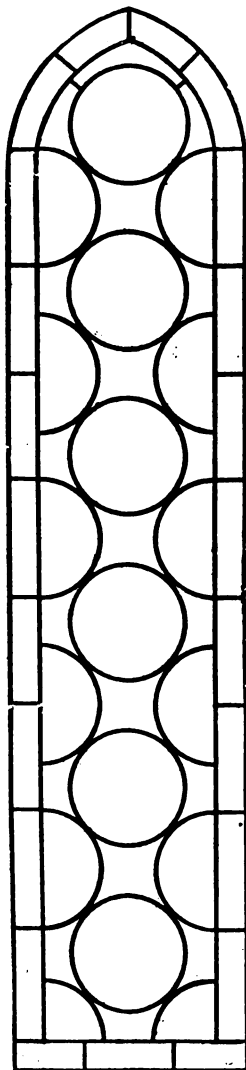
6, 7, and 8. Remains of offerings after cures.

9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. By Mr. Caldwell.

15. A bier with yellow handles, covered by a pall. Priests officiating. One with asperge and stoup.

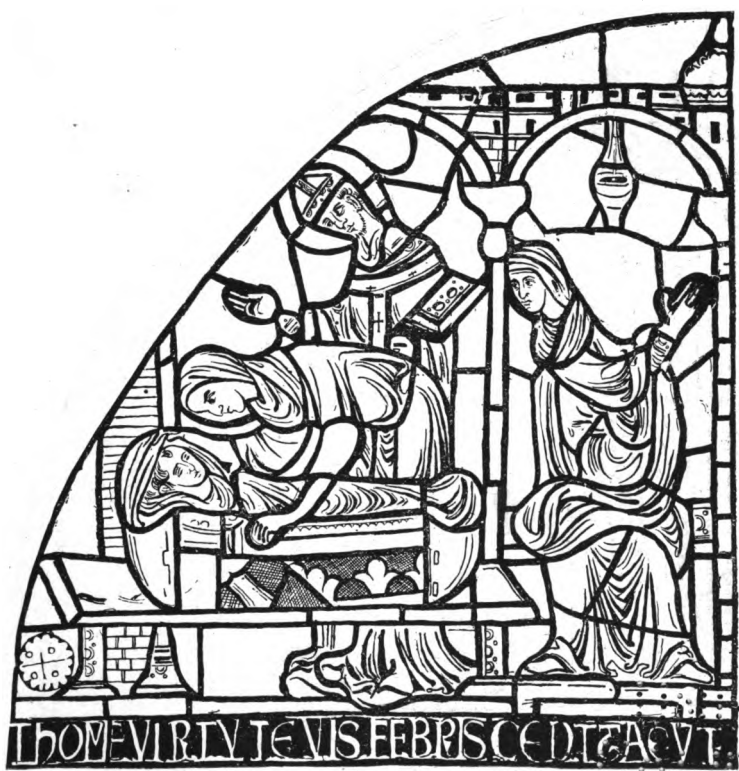


PLAN 15.



PLAN 16.

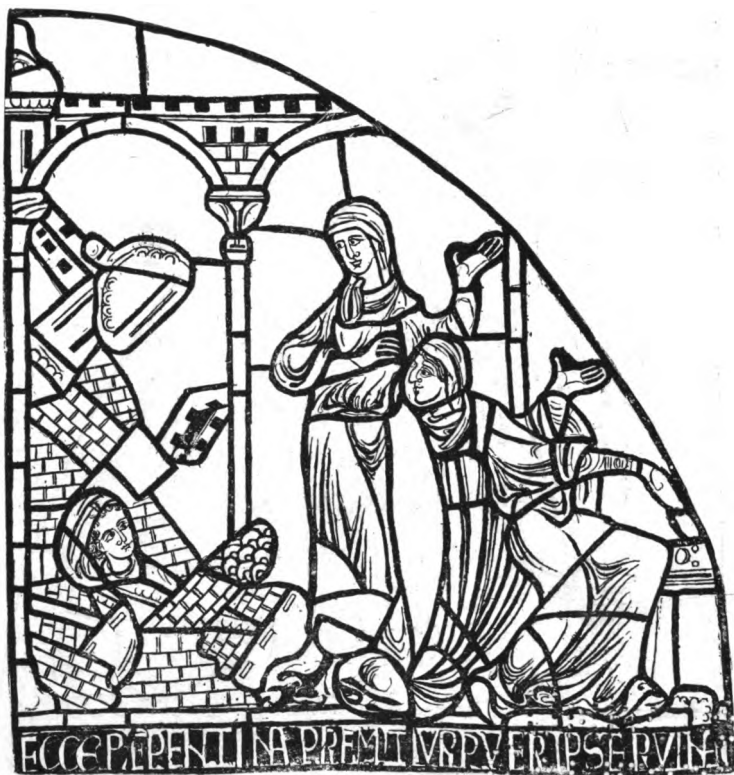
16. In two parts. To the right a father embracing his little boy. The mother lifting up her hands in wonder.



THE FEVER.



THE OFFERING.



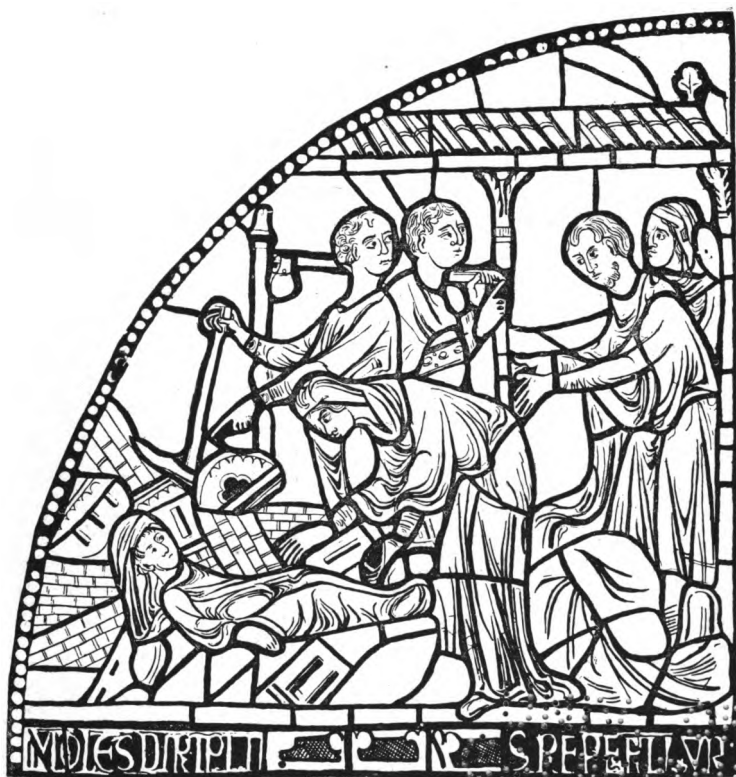
THE FALL OF THE WALL.



THE MOTHER FAINTS.

Plate 15.

Page 41.

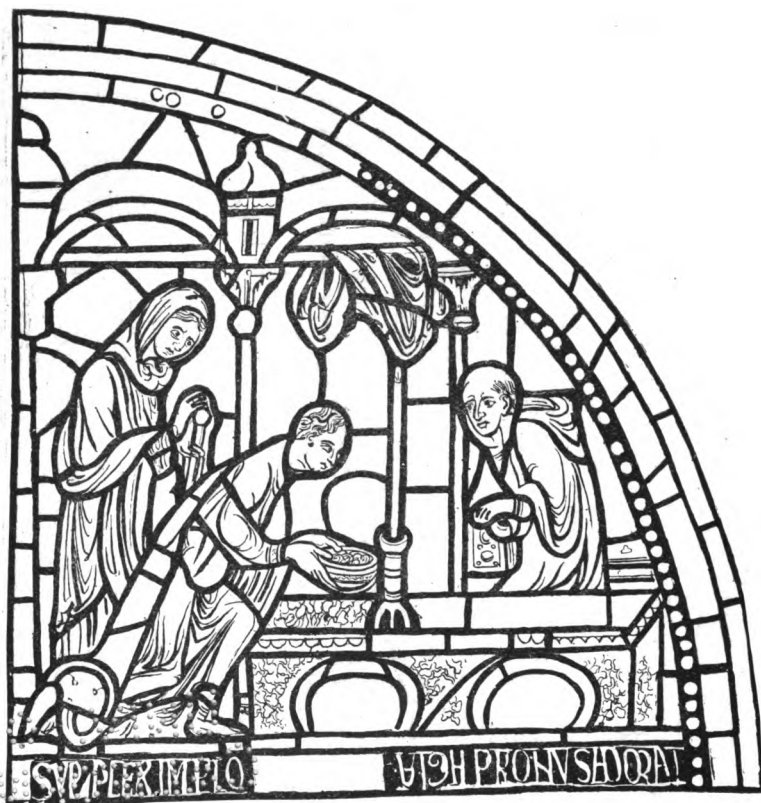


THE DELIVERANCE.

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THE OFFERING AT THE TOMB.



A CRIPPLE AT THE TOMB.



A LEPER PRIEST.

Plate 19.

Page 43.



THE FALL OF EARTH ON WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER.

Plate 20.

Page 43.



TWO MEN BRING THE NEWS THAT HE IS DEAD.



A DISMAL GROAN IS HEARD.



THE GOOD NEWS IS TOLD.



MEN ARRIVE WITH COUNTRY TOOLS.

Perhaps the story of the Welsh soldier's son Ranulf.¹ To the left a man is bending forward offering a coil. The figures of the priests imperfect.

In addition to the medallions, Mr. Caldwell added eight pieces of bordering, three on each side and two at the bottom, also the spandrels at the bottom.

THE SIXTH WINDOW, SOUTH SIDE.

Twelve of these medallions were placed (probably in the beginning of this century) in windows in the north and south choir transepts, which were cut to receive them. In 1897, by order of the Dean and Chapter, they were restored to their original position in the Trinity Chapel, where four medallions and some scrolling had remained. Six medallions were made by Mr. Caldwell, partly from fragments of old glass, to fill up the vacant spaces. He also completed the border, of which only a small portion remained, and which had been transferred to the transept windows to lengthen them. The original borders of the transept windows still remain there.

1. Godfrey of Winchester has a fever, but is cured by the holy water. *Thomae virtute vis febris cedit acutae.* (The force of severe fever is overcome by the power of S. Thomas.)²

2. His offering. *Auxilium pietas fert quod sibi non sinit aetas.* (Piety brings the help which age does not allow to itself.)

3. While he is asleep in the cradle the wall of the house falls. *Ecce repentina premitur puer ipse ruina.* (Lo, the boy himself is overwhelmed by the sudden downfall.)

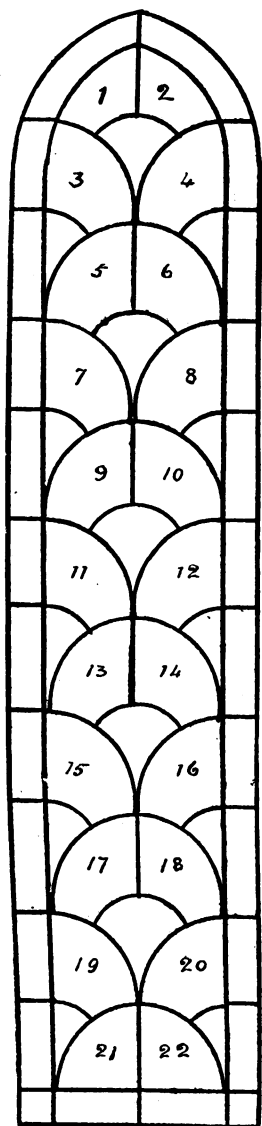
4. New. The mother prays: "O Saint Thomas, preserve my boy".

6. The mother shrieks and faints.

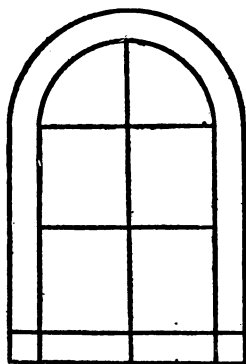
¹ Will. I., p. 209.

² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

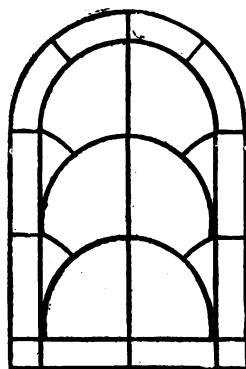
5. Two old servants passing by dig away the ruins, and lift up the boy unhurt.



PLAN 17.



PLAN 18.



PLAN 19.

7. New. A certain woman tells the grandmother he must be taken to the saint's tomb, as he is ill again.



WILLIAM IS BROUGHT OUT.



A LADY OFFERING A COIL.



A LADY KNEELING AT AN ALTAR.

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8. He is brought there. *Ventri intestinam monumentum dat medecinam.* (The tomb gives internal healing to the stomach.)

9. A cripple coming to the tomb. Possibly Eilwin of Berkhamstead.¹

10. He is cured.

11. New. A leper priest of Reading meets some pilgrims returning from Canterbury.²

12. They give him some of the holy water.

13. The story of William of Gloucester, who, in making an aqueduct, was buried beneath a fall of earth at Church-down.

13. The earth falls on William.

14. Two men bring the news that he is dead.

15. New. A woman tells her son she knows he is not dead, but drinking milk. The son meets the watchman of the fields.

16. They hear a dismal groan.

17. New. Roger the priest arrives and sends messengers with the news to Gloucester.

18. The women are told. *Miratur multum populus spirare sepultum.* (The crowd greatly wonder that the buried man is breathing.)

19. All holy and humble men of heart come with spades and country tools.

20. He is brought back to the world. *Thomam quem dicit ereptorem benedicit.* (He blesses Thomas, whom he calls his deliverer.)

21. A lady offering a coil at a small altar.

22. A lady kneeling at another altar.

¹ Bened. II., p. 124.

² Will. I., p. 416.

WINDOW IN SOUTH TRANSEPT OF NAVE.

Between 1382 and 1400 "the nave and western transepts completed by Prior Chillenden, assisted by Archbishops Courtney and Arundel".¹

"This window has been lately rebuilt at the cost of £1000."

"In 1799 this window was selected and arranged with much care and industry by Mr. John Simmonds, one of the

39	34	21	19	19		34	39
12		21			21		37
5	6	12	5	4	10	10	4

PLAN 20.

vesturers of this Church, to whom the arrangement was committed by the Dean (Powys) and Chapter."²

"The large perpendicular window in the S. Transept of the Nave is filled with medallions and pieces of border taken from the Clerestory of the Choir Transepts, with exception of some small fragments of the canopies originally surmount-

¹ Conspectus. "In the fourteenth century there was a centre (for glass) in Kent, possibly at Canterbury or Dover. There were doubtless many large and important ateliers at that time, and it is fairly evident that not only Englishmen, but artists of other countries, were employed in them. It seems to have been quite a conservative atelier." Westlake, vol. ii., p. 41.

² Hasted, p. 529, ed. 1799, note.

ing the figures which once filled it.”¹ The mark * shows which were reglazed by Mr. Caldwell between 1859 to the present time, 1897. The numbers correspond with those in the plan of the choir.

UPPER TIER, BEGINNING FROM THE LEFT.

39 ⁽¹⁾. *Joanna. The green drapery is new and part of the white. Beneath—fifteenth century angel with yellow suns. Probably this and similar ones are from quatrefoils in the windows of the nave.

34 ⁽²⁾. Sher. Beneath—Dean and Chapter coat of arms. Archbishop’s coat of arms above.

21 ⁽³⁾. *Josias. The head is new. Beneath—fifteenth century angel with suns.

19 ⁽⁴⁾. *David.

19 ⁽⁵⁾. Nathan. New head. Arms of Archbishop above.

⁽⁶⁾. Unidentified. New head. Beneath—fifteenth century angel.

34 ⁽⁷⁾. Jose.

39 ⁽⁸⁾. Juda. Beneath—feathered angel with suns.

MIDDLE TIER.

12 ⁽¹⁾. Abram.

⁽²⁾. Unidentified. Royal shield above.

21 ⁽³⁾. Ezechias. Archbishop’s coat of arms beneath.

⁽⁴⁾. Archbishop Abbott’s coat of arms above, and miracles, probably from window in the Trinity Chapel, and the ruby chequer and blue rosettes from the clerestory.

⁽⁵⁾. Above—coat of arms of Kingsley.

21 ⁽⁶⁾. Royal shield above. Josias. Archbishop’s coat of arms beneath.

⁽⁷⁾. Above—three beavers. Unidentified. New head.

⁽⁸⁾. Royal shield above. Zerobabel.²

¹ Felix Summerley, p. 108, 1860.

² 37 in Gostling; 38 in Austin’s plan.

LOWEST TIER.

Royal shields above all, but incorrectly given, with the exception of Nos. 4 and 5.

- 5 ⁽¹⁾. Lamech.
- 6 ⁽²⁾. Noe.
- 12 ⁽³⁾. Thare.
- 5 ⁽⁴⁾. Methusaleh.
- 4 ⁽⁵⁾. Jareth or Jared.
- 10 ⁽⁶⁾. Phalec.
- 10 ⁽⁷⁾. *Ragan. New head, hands and part of drapery.
- 4 ⁽⁸⁾. Enoch.

The designs beneath were reglazed by Mr. Caldwell, and parts of some of the medallions were restored by him. The coats of arms not mentioned are either modern additions or old fragments incorrectly put together.

THE WEST WINDOW OF THE NAVE.

"1382 to 1400. The stained glass in the great west window of the Nave is of this period, but fragments of earlier glass have been inserted."¹

Under the point of the arch are the arms of Richard II. impaling those of his patron saint, Edward the Confessor. The next range consists of six small figures between the arms of the two wives of Richard II., Anne of Bohemia to the north and Isabella of France to the south. The next two ranges were filled with Saints and the Apostles.² Now they are replaced by Saints and Bishops said to have been brought, about 1799, from the west window in the Chapter House. The Seven Kings are in the next range. Beginning from the right, the order is—Canute, Edward the Confessor holding a book, Harold, William I. with sceptre, William II., Henry I., Stephen.³ Below are more figures from the Chapter House, and the medallions removed about 1799 from the clerestory. The numbers correspond with the MS. catalogue of Mr.

¹ Conspectus.

² Gostling, p. 343.

³ *Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral*, by G. Smith, p. 381.

George Austin. The coats of arms are composed of old fragments and modern pieces put together at the time when the window was refilled. The row at the bottom are royal shields.¹

14	18	20	22	20	18	14	
2	16	2	1	40	17	17	

PLAN 21.

TO THE LEFT, UPPER TIER.

- 14 ⁽¹⁾. Juda.
 18 ⁽²⁾. Obeth.
 20 ⁽³⁾. Roboas. Reglazed by Mr. Caldwell.
 22 ⁽⁴⁾. Jeconias.
 20 ⁽⁵⁾. Perhaps Abias. Not identified.
 18 ⁽⁶⁾. Jesse.
 14 ⁽⁷⁾. Phares.

LOWER TIER.

- 2 ⁽¹⁾. Enos.
 16 ⁽²⁾. Naason.
 2 ⁽³⁾. Seth.
 1 ⁽⁴⁾. Adam.
 40 ⁽⁵⁾. Semei or Joseph.
 17 ⁽⁶⁾. Salmon.
 17 ⁽⁷⁾. Boaz.

} Also reglazed by Mr. Caldwell.

¹ Felix Summerley, p. 107.

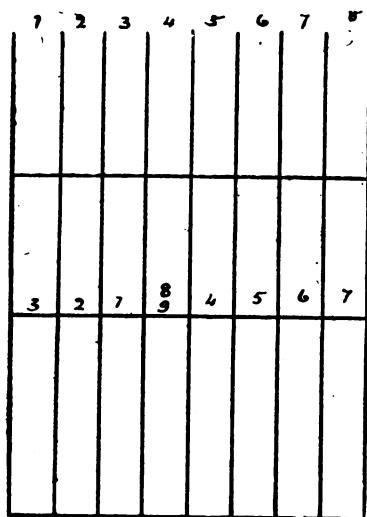
WINDOW IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF NAVE.

1470-1480. "Stained glass in the great north window of west transept."¹

"This goodly and glorious window, a piece of its kinde beyond compare," was given by Edward IV. in memory of the marriage of Edward I. and Marguerite of France.²

Beneath the point of the arch are two shields, one of France and England, quarterly, the other of Canterbury impaling the arms of Bouchier.

The next three ranges represent—1. Prophets; 2. Apostles; 3. Bishops.³



PLAN 22.

Beneath are angels bearing shields.

1. The arms of Dean and Chapter.

2. The arms of Guldeford and Halden.

3. Canterbury, impaling a chevron between three crows.

"As this was the bearing of Becket, here was probably his effigies" (reversed).

¹ Conspectus. † Scott-Robertson.

² Somner, p. 166.

³ Gostling, p. 332.

4. The monkish device of the Trinity, under which we may suppose was the representation of God the Father and of Christ, besides a large Crucifix and the picture of the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove mentioned by Culmer.

5. The arms of Edward the Confessor.

6. The framework of a well, being the arms of Cecilia, daughter of Edward *II*, who married Viscount Wells.

7. The arms of an Archbishop, made by Mr. Caldwell. Beneath are seven angels bearing shields.

1. Royal arms with argent label for Prince of Wales.¹

2. Royal arms. Edward IV.

3. Royal arms, a label of three points, argent, the dexter point charged with a canton, gules. Duke of York.

4. Gules, three crowns in pale, or, Ethelred.

5. Fragments of the arms of Castile and Leon.

6. Royal arms, impaling those of Elizabeth Woodville.

7. The arms of Mortimer and Burgh.

In the next range—1. Is modern ; 2. An Archbishop's ;

3. Royal shield (incorrect) ; 4. Modern ; 5. Dean and Chapter ; 6, 7. Illegible.

In the range below is the family of King Edward IV.

In the middle compartment was the large Crucifix before which the royal family were kneeling. The figures have all new heads, and much of the drapery and other parts have been restored by Mr. Caldwell, under the direction of the late Mr. Harry Austin, the surveyor of the Cathedral. Parts of the original figures are in the hall at the Deanery, having been removed there in 1879.

1. To the left is the effigy of Edward IV. The curtain at the back of the King has the rose in sun, "the device he took in memory of the battle of Mortimer's Cross, where there were seen three suns immediately conjoining in one". Underneath—*Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglia et Francia et dominus hiberniae*.²

¹ Willement.

² Gostling, p. 336.

2. The Prince of Wales has his half curtain covered with single feathers in stripes.

3. To the left, the Duke of York has his curtain covered with a falcon in fetlock, or, on a background, azure.

4. The Queen has sprigs of broom vert, in a cloud gules and placed on an azure ground.

5, 6, 7. To the right of the Queen are three Princesses kneeling.

8, 9. In the centre, above the coat of arms of Henry VII., are two figures in niches—a king in armour with a sword, Mauritius underneath, and a female figure with long hair, helmet and sword.

In the next range “the seven glorious appearances of the Virgin Marie were pictured beneath”.

The coats of arms are—1. Becket; 2. Royal arms; 3. The arms of an Archbishop; 4. Royal arms; 5. The arms of the Scotts of Scot's Hall, three Catherine wheels; 6. Royal arms; 7. Modern.

In the centre of the third and fifth lights are the arms of two Archbishops.

A description of this window is given by Richard Culmer in 1644, two years after he had destroyed it. It is taken from the *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury*.¹

“The work of destruction in the Cathedral had begun at the east end, and had proceeded as far as the screen between the choir and the nave, when it was interrupted by a Prebend's wife, who pleaded for the Images and jeered the Commissioners viragiously. She shreekt out and ran to her husband, who, after she was gone, came in and asked for their authoritie to doe these things. After he had disputed a while, the grand Priest complained for want of breath, saying he was ready to faint, and desired to be let out. And indeed he looked very ill. Then the work of Reformation went on, and the Commissioners fell presently to work on the great idolatrous window. In that window was now the picture of God the Father, and of Christ, besides a large

Crucifix and the pictures of the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove and of the twelve Apostles. And in that window were seen seven large pictures of the Virgin Marie, in seven several glorious appearances as of the Angells lifting her into Heaven, and the Sun, Moon, and Stars under her feet, and every picture had an inscription under it, beginning with *gaude Maria*—as *gaude Maria, sponsa dei*, that is, rejoice Mary, Spouse of God. There were in this window many other pictures of Popish Saints, as of S. George, etc. But their prime Cathedrall saint, Arch Bishop Thomas Becket, was most rarely pictured in that window, in full proportion, with cope, Rochet, miter, Crosier and all his Pontificalibus. And in the foot of that window was a tittle, intimating that window to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary. While judgment was executing on the Idols in that window, the Cathedralists cryed out again for their great Diana, hold your hands, holt, holt, heers, Sirs, etc. A minister being then on the top of the citie ladder, near 60 steps high, with a whole pike in his hand, ratling down proud Becket's glassy bones, others then present would not adven-ter so high, to him it was said, 'tis a shame for a Minister to be seen there. The Minister replied, Sir, I count it no shame, but an honour, my Master whipt the living buyers and sellers out of the Temple, these are dead Idylls, which defile the worship of God here, being the fruits and occasions of idolatry. Some wisht he might break his neck, others said, it should cost blood. But he finished the worke and came downe well, and was in very good health when this was written."

THE DEAN'S CHAPEL AND S. MICHAEL'S.

Formerly called the Lady Chapel or S. Mary's. Built by Prior Goldstone, *circa* 1449-1468.¹

The east window has five lights. The upper part has

¹ Canon Scott-Robertson; *Conspectus*.

roundels impanelling a golden falcon volant and knots, the badge of the Bouchier family. (Archdeacon Bouchier, who died in 1495, is buried here.) In the lower part, the double knot and a stem of oak leaved and fructed for Woodstock. The Archbishop Bouchier's mother was daughter of Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. A border of oak leaves surrounds the window. At the base of the five lights there are five coats of arms, arranged chevron-wise, the highest being in the centre.¹

THE WARRIOR'S CHAPEL, OR THE SOMERSET OR S. MICHAEL'S CHAPEL.

The east window formerly had the devices of Margaret Holland, who is buried in the Chapel.

THEOLOGICAL WINDOWS.

From a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford. Folio 185.

Fenestrae in superiori parte ecclesiae Christi Cant. incipientes a parte septentrionali.

FENESTRA PRIMA.

1. *Moses cum Rubo. In medio. Angelus cum Maria. Rubus non consumitur, tua nec comburitur in carne virginitas.*

2. *Gedeon cum vellere et conca. Vellus coelestirore maduit, dum puellae venter intumuit.*

3. *Misericordia et veritas. In medio Maria et Elizabeth.*

*Plaude puer puero, virgo vetulae, quia vero
Obviat hic pietas : veteri dat lex nova metas.*

¹ G. Smith.

4. *Justitia et Pax.*

Applaudit Regi previsor gratia legi.

Oscula Justitiae dat pax ; cognata Mariae.

5. *Nabugodonosor et lapis cum statua. Puer in praeseptio.*

Ut Regi visus lapis est de monte recisus.

Sic gravis absque viro virgo parit ordine miro.

6. *In medio Maria.*7. *Moses cum virga. In medio. Angelus et Pastores.*

Ut contra morem dedit arida virgula florem

Sic virgo puerum, verso parit ordine rerum.

8. *David. Gaudebunt campi et omnia quae in eis sunt.*9. *Abacuc. Operuit coelos gloria ejus, etc.*

FENESTRA SECUNDA.

1. *In medio tres Reges equitantes. Balaam. Orietur stella ex Jacob, et exurget homo de Israel. Isaia et Jeremia, Ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, etc.*

2. *In medio. Herodes et Magi. Christus et Gentes.*

Qui sequuntur me non ambulabunt in tenebris.

Stella Magos duxit, et eos ab Herode reduxit

Sic Sathanam gentes fugiunt, te Christe sequentes.¹

3. *Pharaoh et Moses, cum populo exiens ab Egipto.*

Exit ab erumna populus ducente columna.

Stella Magos duxit. Lux Christus utrisque reluxit.

4. *In medio. Maria cum puero. Magi et Pastores. Joseph et frateres sui cum Egiptiis.*

Ad te longinquos Joseph trahis at que propinquos.

Sic Deus in cunis Judaeos gentibus unis.

5. *Rex Solomon et Regina Saba.*

Hiis donis donat Regina domum Solomonis.

Sic Reges Domino dant munera tres, tria, trino.

¹ This inscription is now on the adjoining medallion—The Conversion of the Heathen.

6. Admoniti sunt Magi ne Herodem adeant : Propheta et Rex Jeroboam immolans.

Ut via mutetur redeundo Propheta monetur

Sic tres egerunt qui Christo dona tulerunt.

7. Subversio Sodomaë et Loth fugiens.

Ut Loth salvetur ne respiciat prohibetur.

Sic vitant revehi per Herodis regna Sabei.

8. Oblatio pueri in templo, et Simeon. Melchisedech offerens panem et vinum pro Abraham.

Sacrum quod cernis sacris fuit umbra modernis.

Umbra fugit. Quare ? quia Christus sistitur arae.

9. Oblatio Samuel.

Natura geminum triplex oblatio trinum

Significat Dominum Samuel puer, amphora vinum.

10. Fuga Domini in Egiptum. Fuga David et Doeg.

Hunc Saul infestat : Saul Herodis typus extat.

Iste typus Christi, cujus fuga consonat isti.

11. Elias Jesabel et Achab.

Ut trucis insidias Jesabel declinat Elias.

Sic Deus Herodem, terrore remotus eodem.

12. Occisio Innocentum. Occisio sacerdotum Domini sub Saul.

Non cecidit David, pro quo Saul hos jugulavit.

Sic non est caesus cum caesis transfuga Jesus.

13. Occisio Tribus Benjamin in Gabaon.

Ecce Rachel nati fratrum gladiis jugulati

His sunt signati pueri sub Herode necati.

FENESTRA TERTIA.

1. Jesus sedes in medio Doctorum. Moses et Jethro cum populo.

Sic Moses audit Jethro vir sanctus obaudit

Gentiles verbis humiles sunt forma superbis.

2. Daniel in medio seniorum.

Mirantur pueri seniores voce doceri

Sic responsa Dei sensum stupent Pharisei.

3. Baptizatur Dominus. Noah in archa.
 Fluxa cuncta vago submergens prima vorago
 Omnia purgavit : Baptisma significavit.
4. Submersio Pharaonis et transitus populi.
 Unda maris rubri spatio divisa salubri
 Quae mentem mundam facit à vitio notat undam.
5. Temptatio gulae et vana gloriae. Eva capiens fructum.
 Qui temptat Jesum movet Evam mortis adesum
 Eva gulae cedit, sed non ita Jesus obedit.
6. Eva comedit.
 Victores hic Sathana : movet Evam gloria vana
 Sed quo vicisti te vicit gratia Christi.
7. Tentatio cupiditatis. Adam et Eva comedunt. David et Goliah.
 Quo Sathan hos subicit Sathanam sapientia vicit
 Ut Goliath David, Sathanam Christus superavit.

FENESTRA QUARTA.

1. Vocatio Nathanael jacentis sub ficu. Adam et Eva cum foliis. Populus sub lege.
 Vidit in hiis Christus sub ficu Nathanaelem.
 Lex tegit hanc plebem, quasi ficus Nathanaelem.
2. Christus mutavit aquam in vinum. Sex hydriae. Sex aetates mundi. Sex aetates hominum.
 Hydria metretas capiens est quaelibet aetas,
 Primum signorum Deus hic prodendo suorum.
 Lympha dat historiam, vinum notat allegoriam.
 In vinum morum convertit aquam vitiorum.
3. Piscatore Apostolorum. S. Petrus cum eccles. de Iud. Palus cum ecclesia de gentibus.
 Verbum rete ratis Petri domus haec pietatis.
 Pisces Judaei, qui rete ferant Pharisei
 Illa secundaratis, domus haec est plena beatis
 Retia scismaticus, et quivis scindit iniquus.

4. In medio Jesus legit in Synagoga. Esdras legit legem populo. ^{Stus.} Gregor ordinans lectores.

Quod promulgavit Moses, legem reparavit
Esdras amissam : Christus renovavit omissam.
Quod Christus legit, quasi pro lectoribus egit.
Exemplo cujus sacer est gradus ordinis hujus.

5. Sermo Domini in monte. Doctores Ecclesiae. Moses suscipit legem.

Hii montem scandunt Scripturae dum sacra pandunt.
Christus sublimis docet hos sed vulgus in imis
Ex hinc inde datur in monte quod inde notatur.
Christum novisse debemus utramque dedisse.

6. Christus descendens de monte mundat leprosum. Paulus baptizat populum. Heliseus. Naaman et Jordanis.

Carne Deus tectus quasi vallis ad ima provectus
Mundat leprosum genus humanum vitiosum.
Que lavat ecce Deus que mundat et hic Heliseus.
Est genus humanum Christi baptismo sanum.

FENESTRA QUINTA.

1. Jesus ejicit Demonium. Angelus ligavit Demonium.

Imperat immundis Deus hic equis furibundis
Hiis virtus Christi dominatur ut Angelus isti.

2. Maria unxit pedes Chr. Drusiana vestit et pascit egenos.

Curam languenti, victum qui praebet egenti
Seque reum plangit, Christi vestigia tangit.
Illa quod ungendo facit haec sua distribuendo
Dum quod de pleno superest largitur egeno.

3. Marta et Maria cum Jesu. Petrus in navi. Johannes legit.

Equoris unda ferit hunc ; ille silentia querit ;
Sic requies orat dum mandi cura laborat.

4. Leah et Rachel cum Jacob.

Lyah gerit curam carnis ; Rachel que figuram
Mentis, cura gravis est haec, est altera suavis.

5. Jesus et Apostoli colligunt spicas. Mola fumus et
Apostoli facientes panes.

Quod terit alterna Mola lex vetus atque moderna
Passio, crux Christi fermentans cibus iste.

Petrus et Paulus cum populis.

Arguit iste reos, humiles alit hic Phariseos,

Sic apice tritae panis sunt verbaque vitae.

6. Jesus cum Samaritana Synagoga et Moses cum quinque
libris. Ecclesia de gentibus ad Johannem.

Potum quesisti fidei cum Christe sitisti.

E qua viri cui sex Synagoga librique sui sex,
delicta notat hydria fonte relictæ.

Ad te de gente Deus ecclesia veniente.

7. Samaritana adduxit populum ad Jesum. Rebecca dat
potum servo Abraham. Jacob obviat Rachaeli.

Fons servus minans pecus hydria virgo propinans

Lex Christo gentes mulierque fide redolentes.

Jacob lassatus Rachel obvia grex adaquatus

Sunt Deus et turbe mulier quas duxit ab urbe.

FENESTRA SEXTA.

i. Jesus loquens cum Apostolis. Gentes audiunt.
Pharisei contemnunt.

Sollicitæ gentes stant verba Dei sitientes

Haec sunt verba Dei quæ contemnant Pharisei.

2. Seminator et volucres Pharisei recedentes à Jesu.
Pharisei tentantes Jesum.

Semen rore carens expers rationis et arens

Hii sunt qui credunt, tentantes sicque recedunt.

Semen sermo Dei, via lex secus hanc Pharisei insidiator.

Et tu Christi sator

3. Semen cecidit inter spinas. Divites hujus mundi, cum
pecunia.

Isti spinosi locupletes deliciosi

Nil fructus referunt quoniam terrestria querunt.

4. Semen cecidit in terram bonam. Job. Daniel. Noah.
Verba prius servit Deus his fructus sibi crevit
In tellure bona, triplex sua cuique corona.
5. Jesus et mulier commiscens sata tria. Tres filii Noae
cum Ecclesia, Virgines, Continentes. Conjugati.
Parte, Noe nati, mihi quisque sua dominati,
Una fides natis ex his tribus est Deitatis.
Personae trinae tria sunt sata mista farinae
Fermentata sata tria tres fructus operata.
6. Piscatores. Hinc Pisces boni, inde mali. Isti in
vitam aeternam.
Hii qui jactantur in levam qui reprobantur
Pars sunt à Domino maledicta cremanda camino
Vase reservantur pisces quibus assimilantur
Hii quos addixit vitae Deus et benedixit.
7. Messes. Seges reponitur in horreum. Zizania in
ignem. Justi in vitam aeternam. Reprobi in ignem aeter.
Cum sudore sata messoris in horrea lata
Sunt hic vexati sed Christo glorificati.
Hic cremat ex messe quod inutile judicat esse
Sic pravos digne punit iudex Deus igne.
8. De quinque panibus et duob. piscibus satiavit multa
millia hominum. D^{us} Sacerdos. Rex.
Hii panes legem, pisces dantem sacra Regem
Signant quassatos à plebe nec adnihilatos.
Synagoga cum Mose et libris Ecclesia cum Johanne.
Quae populos saturant panes piscesque figurant
Quod Testamenta duo nobis dant alimenta.

FENESTRA SEPTIMA.

1. Cvravit Jesus filiam viduae. Ecclesia de gentibus
cum Jesu. Petrus orat et animalia dimittuntur in linthea.
Natam cum curat matris prece ; matre figurat
Christo credentes primos, nataque sequentes.
Fide viventes signant animalia gentes ;
Quos mundat sacri submersio trina lavacri.

2. Curavit Jesus hominem ad piscinam. Moses cum quinque libris. Baptizat Dominus.

Lex tibi piscina concordat sunt quia quina

Ostia piscinae, seu partes lex tibi quinae.

Sanat ut aegrotum piscinae motio lotum

Sic cruce signatos mundat baptisma renatos.

3. Transfigurationem Domini. Angeli vestiunt mortuos resurgentes. Angeli adducunt justos ad Deum.

Spes transformati capitis, spes vivificati

Clares in indutis membris à morte solutis.

Cum transformares te Christe, quid insinuares

Veste decorati declarant clarificati.

4. Petrus piscatur et invenit staterem. Dominus ascendit in Hier. Dominus crucifigitur.

Hunc ascendente mox mortis adesse vidente

Tempora ; te Christe piscis praenunciat iste

Ludibrium turbae Deus est ejectus ab urbe.

5. Statuit Jesus parvulum in medio Discipulorum. Monachi lavant pedes pauperum. Reges inclinant doctrinae Petri et Pauli.

Hoc informantur exemplo qui monaciantur

Ne dedignentur peregrinis si famulentur.

Sic incurvati pueris sunt assimilati

Reges cum gente Paulo Petroque docente.

6. Pastor reportat ovem. Christus pendet in cruce. Christus spoliatur inferna.

FENESTRA OCTAVA.

Dominus remittet debita servo poscenti.

Ut prece submissa sunt huic commissa remissa

Parcet poscenti seu parcit Deus egenti.

Petrus et Paulus absolvunt poenitentem et Dominus sibi credentes. Servus percutit conservum. Paulus lapidatur. Stephanus lapidatur.

Cur plus ignoscit Dominus minus ille poposcit
 Conservum servus populus te Paule protervus
 Regi conservo repetenti debita servo
 Assimulare Deus Martyr nequam Phariseus.

Tradidit cum tortoribus. Mittuntur impii in ignem.
 Judæi perimuntur.

Cæditur affligens, captivatur crucifigens
 Hunc punit Dominus flagris, hos igne caminus.

FENESTRA NONA.

Homo quidam descendebat de Hier. in Jerico et incidit
 in latrones.

Perforat hasta latus, occidit ad mala natus.

Creatur Adam. Formatur Eva, comedunt fructum,
 ejiciuntur de Paradiso.

Ex Adæ costa prodiit formata virago.

Ex Christi latere processit sancta propago.

Fructum decerpens mulier suadens mala serpens.

Immemor authoris vir perdit culmen honoris

Virgultum. fructus. mulier. vir. vipera. luctus

Plantatur. rapitur. dat. gustat. fallit. initur.

Poena reos tangit, vir sudat, foemina plangit.

Pectore portatur serpens, tellure ribatur.

Sacerdos et Levita vident vulneratum et pertranseunt.

Vulneribus plenum neuter miseratus egenum.

Moses et Aaron cum Pharaone. Scribitur tau. Educitur
 populus. Adorat vitulum. Datur lex. Elevatur Serpens.

Pro populo Moyses coram Pharaone laborat

Exaugetque preces, signorum luce coronat,

Cui color est rubeus siccum mare transit Hebraeus.

Angelico ductu patet in medio via fluctu.

In ligno serpens positum notat in cruce Christū

Qui videt hunc vivit, vivet qui credit in istū

Cernens quod speciem Deitatis dum teret aurum

Frangit scripta tenens Moyses in pulvere taurū.

Samaritanus ducit vulneratum in stabulum cum jumento.
Ancilla accusat Petrum. Dominus crucifigitur. sepelitur,
Resurgit. Loquitur Angelus ad Marias.

Qui caput est nostrum capitur : qui regibus ostram
Prebet, nudatur : qui solvit vincla ligatur.
In signo pendens. In ligno brachia tendens.
In signo lignum superasti Christe malignum
Christum lege rei, livor condemnat Hebraei
Carne flagellatum, rapit, attrahit ante Pilatum
Solem justitiae tres, orto sole, Mariae
Quaerunt lugentes, ex ejus morte trementes.

FENESTRA DECIMA.

Suscitat Jesus puellam in Domo. Abigael occurrit David
et mutat propositum. Constantinus jacens et matres cum
pueris.

Quae jacet in cella surgens de morte puella
Signat peccatum meditantis corde creatum
Rex David arma gerit, dum Nabal perdere quaerit.
Obviat Abigael mulier David, arma refrenat.
Et nebulam vultus hilari sermone serenat.
Rex soboles Helenae, Romanae rector habenae
Vult mundare cutem quaerendo cruce salutem.
Nec scelus exerceas, flet, humet, dictata coerces.

Dominus suscitatur puerum extra portam. Rex Solomon
adorat Idola et deflet peccatum. Poenitentia Theophili.

Qui jacet in morte puer extra limina portae
De foris abstractum peccati denotatur actum.
Errat foemineo Solomon deceptus amore :
Errorum redimit mens sancto tacta dolore
Dum lacrimando gemit Theophilus acta redemit
Invenies veniam dulcem rogando Mariam.

Dominus suscitatur Lazarum. Angelus alloquitur Jonam
sub hedera ante Ninevem. Poenitentia Mariae Egiptisae.

Mens mala mors intus ; malus actus mors foris : usus
Tumba, puella, puer, Lazarus ista notant.

Pingitur hic Nineve jam pene peracta perire
 Veste fidus Zosimas nudam tegit Mariam.
 Mittit Dominus duos Discipul. propter asinam et Pullum.
 Sp. sanctus in specie columbae inter Deum et homenum.
 Imperat adduci pullum cum matre Magister
 Paruit huic operae succinctus uterque minister,
 Signacius simplex quod sit dilectio duplex
 Ala Deum dextra fratrem docet ala sinistra.
 Jesus stans inter Petrum et Paulum.
 Genti quae servit petris Petrum, petra mittit,
 Escas divinas Judeis Paule propinas.
 Adducunt discipuli Asinum et Pullum. Petrus adducit
 ecclesiam de Judeis. Paulus adducit ecclesiam de gentib.
 Quae duo solvuntur duo sunt animalia bruta
 Ducitur ad Christum pullas materque soluta.
 De populo fusco Petri sermone corusco
 Extrahit ecclesiam veram referendo Sophiam
 Sic radio fidei caeci radiuntur Hebraei
 Per Pauli verba fructum sterilis dedit herba
 Dum plebs gentilis per eum fit mente fidelis
 Gentilis populus venit ad Christum quasi pullus.
 Occurrunt pueri Domino sedenti super Asinam.
 Vestibus ornari patitur Salvator asellam
 Qui super astra sedet, nec habet frenum neq. sellam.
 Isaias dicit. Ecce Rex tuus sedens super asinam.
 Qui sedet in coelo ferri dignatur asello.
 David ex ore infantum, etc.
 Sancti sanctorum laus ore sonat puerorum.

FENESTRA UNDECIMA.

In medio caena Domini David gestans se in manibus suis.
 Manna fluit populo de coelo.
 Quid manibus David se gestans significavit
 Te manibus gestans das Christe tuis manifestans

Manna fluit saturans populum de plebe figurans
De mensâ Jesu dare se coenantibus esum.

Lavat Jesus pedes Apostolorum. Abraham Angelorum
Laban camelorum.

Obsequio lavacri notat hospes in hospite sacri
Quos mundas sacro mundasti Christe lavacro
Cum Laban hos curat, typice te Christe figurat
Cura camelorum mandatum Discipulorum.

Proditio Jesu. Venditio Joseph. Joab osculatur Abner
et occidit.

Fraus Judae Christum, fraus fratrum vendidit istum
Hii Judae, Christi Joseph tu forma fuisti.
Foedera dum fingit Joab in funera stringit
Ferrum, Judaicum praesignans fœdus iniquum.

Vapulatio Jesu. Job percussus ulcere. Helizeus et
pueri irridentes.

Christi testatur plaga Job dum cruciatur
Ut sum Judeae, jocus pueris Helisee.

FENESTRA DUODECIMA.

Christus portat crucem. Isaac ligna. Mulier colligit
duo ligna.

Ligna puer gestat, crucis typum manifestat.

Fert crucis in signum duplex muliercula lignum.

Christus suspenditur de ligno. Serpens aeneus elevatur
in columna : Vacca comburitur.

Mors est exanguis dum cernitur aereus anguis

Sic Deus in ligno nos salvat ab hoste maligno

Ut Moyses jussit vitulam rufam rogos ussit

Sic tua Christe caro crucis igne crematur amaro.

Dominus deponitur de ligno. Abel occiditur. Heliseus
expandit se super puerum.

Nos à morte Deus revocavit et hunc Heliseus

Signa Abel Christi pia funera funere tristi.

Moses scribit Thau in frontibus in porta de sanguine

agni. Dominus in sepulcro. Samson dormit cum amica
sua. Jonas in ventre ceti.

Frontibus infixum Thau praecinuit crucifixum
Ut Samson typice causa dormivit amicae.
Ecclesiae causa Christi caro marmore clausa.
Dum jacet absorptus Jonas Sol triplicat ortus,
Sic Deus arctatur tumulo triduoque moratur.

Dominus ligans Diabolum. Spoliavit infernum. David
eripuit Oves et Samson tulit portas.

Salvat ovem David : sic Christum significavit,
Est Samson fortis qui rupit vincula mortis
Instar Samsonis, frangit Deus ossa Leonis,
Dum Sathana stravit, Chr^{tus}. Regul jugulavit.

Surgit Dominus de sepulcro. Jonas ejicitur de pisce.
David emissus per fenestram.

Redditur ut salvus, quem ceti clauserat alvus :
Sic redit illesus, à mortis carcere Jesus.
Hinc abit illesus David : sic invida Jesus
Agmina conturbat, ut victa morte resurgat.

Angelus alloquitur Mariam ad Sepulcrum. Joseph ex-
trahitur è carcere. Et Leo suscitatur filium.

Ad vitam Christum Deus ut leo suscitatur istum,
Te signat Christe Joseph ; te mors ; locus iste.

STORIES.

THE FORESTER WHOSE THROAT WAS PIERCED THROUGH.¹

“Adam, a young man to whose care a certain nobleman
had entrusted the charge of his goods, having two companions
with him, caught three other men who had killed a deer (*lit.*,
a wild beast), and with the intention of assailing them as
thieves endeavoured to lay hands on them and take them.
But one of them casting a dart pierced the throat of his

¹ Will. I., p. 342.

assailant. And he, after taking a few steps, fell down, and, feeling the severity of the wound, cried : ‘ O Thomas, martyr, have mercy on me, lest I die of the wound I am suffering from, while through my careful stewardship thou art afraid of accepting my master’s guarantee of payment.¹ I will go, as a pilgrim and devotee, to the house which thou hast stained with thy blood.’ He said his prayer and drank the martyr’s water ; but in order that the danger due to the place and manner of the wound might be made evident to the sufferer, whereby he might rise to praises the more devout from the favour of the divine bounty, the water began to run out from either side of his throat. Besides, whatever food or drink he took passed out on one of the two sides, so that many people, fearing for his life, declared that the arteries were injured, and we, so far as we could judge from the wound that was to be seen, suppose that the wound was in his throat. But the martyr, to whom the Lord of power had granted power, ordained that within three weeks’ time he was cured at Canterbury.”

THE WOUNDED CARPENTER.²

“ A carpenter had made a vow to go to the scene of the martyrdom of the servant of God. The carpenter’s name was William (of Kellett). And while he put off fulfilling his vow, on a certain day in the morning, after shutting up his house, he made the sign of the holy cross on his forehead, and commended himself to the protection of the saint Thomas. Coming, moreover, to the appointed place and applying himself to his work, he raised his axe, but since his hand erred in directing a blow on a log, the steel buried itself in his shin ; and, since the bone was cut, it (*i.e.*, the steel) sent forth marrow as well as blood. Sinking to the ground in a swoon, he was borne up and carried back home. Then to those who were present binding up the wound and

¹ Query.

² Will. I., p. 273.

preparing plasters he said : 'Let not mortal aid be sought. I commit the whole case to the Lord and to the martyr Thomas.' And falling into a trance he perceives the martyr speaking to him. 'It was a very good thing for you this morning to have remembered me, for unless I had held the handle (of your axe) you would have pierced right through your shin and would have lost it entirely. Now, indeed, power has been given me from the Lord to heal you.' Saying this, he raised his hand and made on him a sign of cure. The wounded man, roused at the voice of the speaker, broke forth into the words : 'Loose my leg. I am whole, the blessed Thomas has cured my wound.' And so it was found (when the bandage had been taken off) just as he said ; the wound was healed, the leg thus suddenly restored whole with medicine, having no sign of the wound, except the mark of a very light scar. Hence this is made evident because the vows are performed which are rightly vowed to the Lord ; for it is better not to make a vow than not to fulfil a vow when it is made."

ROBERT OF CRICKLADE, PRIOR OF S. FRIDESWIDE'S,
RELATES HIS RECOVERY.¹

"About twelve years ago or more, when I was in Sicily and was intending to go from the State of Catania to Syracuse, I was walking beside the Adriatic Sea ; for so my path ran. A southerly gale and the surf of the sea, which was on my left, gave me a swelling of my foot and skin with a very bad inflammation. But the next day but one, which I spent at Syracuse, I applied fomentations and plasters and got better, and when I got back to Rome I cured myself still more perfectly by medicine, and had no more trouble during my return to England. But during the last three or four years, as I calculate, the illness has attacked me so violently that I have not been able to allay the disease by

¹ Bened. II., p. 97.

draughts or blood-lettings (in spite of using numbers of leeches) nor by plasters or fomentations or ointments. At last two abscesses burst on my foot, so that I could not put on or draw off my boot without great pain. Why say more? I understood that the disease was chronic, and not to be cured by hand of man; for doctors say: 'Chronic diseases die with you'. The people of our country are my witnesses, for when I used to address them on feast days, urging them to the best of my ability to follow the path of righteousness, even at times when clergy from different places in England were present, I used to excuse myself from standing on account of the above-mentioned pain, and to address them sitting. Last Lent I was being consumed with grief because I could not take part in the divine celebrations as had been my wont, and specially at the thought of the mystery of our Lord's Passion, the yearly occurrence of which was close at hand. For I was afraid I should not be able to celebrate it as was my duty, and I kept praying in my heart to the Lord to turn His face from my sins and hear me, so that on those days at least I might be enabled by His favour to do what belonged to my office. And He in whose hand is health granted me this favour, unworthy as I am, that from the day of the Last Supper up to the fourth festival in Easter (? week) my pain was so far abated that, to the astonishment of myself and my brethren, who knew my disease, I performed all my duties in accordance with my prayer, after which the pain returned. Now I had it in my mind that the { signs } of the most blessed
 { wonders }
 Martyr are { said to happen } at his tomb. But when I
 { to be heard of }

had come to Canterbury, through the length of the journey and the strain of the effort the disease became worse, the swelling increasing. Lying, however, before his tomb I prayed the Lord to save me through the merits of His martyr from my sickness, and I prayed the martyr to plead

with the Lord for me. Then, ignorant that my prayer was heard, I returned to the hostelry heavy-hearted and groaning, because I knew not how I could ever return to my own home on account of the excessive pain. At last the thought occurred to me to anoint my foot with the holy water which had been given me ; and placing my foot in a basin, I made the sign of the cross with the water on my foot and shin in the name of the Holy Trinity and in memory of the most blessed martyr, and anointed both. I had the remainder thrown into the fire, that it might not be trodden under my feet. On the morrow, as I was journeying homewards to my own country, I felt the pain abated and an easement of the swelling ; but when I was in my hostelry at Rochester, wishing to see the easement I felt, I could espy nothing. I again anointed myself in the same way. The next day, going to London, I felt the pain still more relieved and a greater easement of the swelling, and when I took off my boot in London I clearly saw that this was the case. And when I had reached Oxford, having finished so much of my journey . . . I now found myself completely cured. . . . I add this much, that I can bear every strain of walking or standing on that shin and on that foot quite as well as—indeed (I feel) better—than on the other foot which was not affected.”

This account, as set down here at our request, the above-mentioned prior wrote in all haste about himself, desiring to recount his story rather than to show his literary ability.

THE TWO LAME DAMSELS.¹

“Two damsels, the daughters of Godbold of Boxley, who from their very cradles had supported themselves on crutches rather than on their feet, were brought thither. While they were both imploring the martyr to heal them, a sleep fell upon the elder. In her sleep the saint comes and addresses

¹ Bened. II., p. 170.

her, and both promises health and grants it. On waking she finds with surprise her hamstrings lengthened to the accompaniment of a great dance of clergy and laymen. Meanwhile the banners of the church are shaken,¹ and she is led into the church. This the younger sister sees, and gives way to more violent tears, as much sadder for her own ill fortune as her elder sister is overjoyed by her good. She blames the saint because while her sister has departed she is left prostrate. You could see there the lamentation of Esau, who cried aloud for the gift of his father's blessing: 'Hast thou not one blessing for me, O my father? Bless me, me also, I beseech thee!' And as she wept with bitter cries, the holy father was moved within him and came to her next day as she slept and restored her to health like her elder sister. Thus the miracle was twofold, and double glory is given to God and double rejoicing to men."

A BOY UPON WHOM A WALL FELL.²

"A boy named Godfrey, a native of Winchester, son of a certain Robert and Lettice, when he was about sixteen months old, was very sick of a fever, but on drinking the water of S. Thomas he cooled down and rejoiced the hearts of his parents. But their sudden joy was overclouded by sorrow, for while his mother was sitting at home some way off from him, the wall of the house fell with a shock from top to bottom, and the child was asleep in his cradle underneath. The wall was of stone, thirteen feet high. And so the cradle, which was made of solid planks four-square like a carved box, was broken into eight or ten pieces, and some of the fragments were buried deep in the ground. It was thought that the wall fell on account of a storm the day before, but we believe that this was brought about for the glory of the sainted Saint of Saints. But the mother, seeing that her little one was buried in the ruins, cried out: 'S.

¹ Query.

² Will. I., p. 206.

Thomas, save the child that thou gavest back to me!’ and for sorrow shrieked and fell in a faint. O marvellous kindness of the Saint! O marvellous power of the unconquered Martyr, who both listened without a moment’s delay to the pious mother and saved the boy beyond all desert of his, unharmed in the jaws of death, while three or four cartloads were heaped upon him. For when on one side the boy was overwhelmed in the ruins, and on the other the mother in sorrow, two men came in, and raising the woman to her feet, asked and learned the reason of her grief. Then, after summoning help, they pulled away the mass of ruins and found the cradle broken to bits, but lift up the boy not only unbruised but happy and laughing, ’tis marvel to tell, not having a trace of a bruise on his whole body, except a slight blackening of one of his eyes that could hardly be seen. As time went on, and those who were assisted by the grace of the martyr were giving thanks, the boy began to fall sick and to be prayed for in the due course of public intercession.¹ And it happened on a day that a certain woman went to the child’s grandmother and came in and said: ‘It has been revealed to me concerning the child that he ought to be taken to the memorial of the blessed Thomas. Know that this revelation has come from the Lord. For I do not say this for the sake of gain or for any other less honourable reason, but I am here as the messenger of God’s warning.’ And so after a little time the boy was taken to Canterbury, and we learnt this story.”

THE WORKMAN WHO WAS BURIED ALIVE.²

“Thomas the martyr, by a new kind of miracle, gave a lesson of brotherly love and ecclesiastical peace to his rival, Roger, Bishop of York, a man most highly learned in things human and divine, had he been wise in accordance with his wisdom. Roger, when priest, brought a supply of water

¹ Doubtful.

² Will. I., p. 253.

(? siquidem) to his village of Churchdown from the brow of a hill about 500 yards away. But there is a rising ground halfway, looking down with head erect upon the flats of the surrounding fields, about twenty-four feet high. When the work was in full swing this was cut through so as to receive the aqueduct in its open breast and give it a straight passage through. In charge of the work was one William, who had hired his workmen from the neighbouring town of Gloucester. As he was fixing a leaden pipe at the bottom of the cutting in the hill, a fallen mass of the excavated earth came down upon him. His fellow-workmen sprang apart in all directions, and when they were hoping to dig him out, covered round as he already was, lo ! there was another landslip and a crumbling and overhanging mass slipped down and caught the young man. The landslip could be estimated at about a hundred cartloads. There he stood, on his back, with his hands spread out before his face, clad in nothing but his shirt, as he had been working hard. And seeing that all escape was cut off, he turned his hopes to the Lord, the first and last refuge in every case of need, and also invoked the blessed Virgin Mary, who, as her name shows, is the star to the haven of eternal happiness for men tossed in the stormy sea of human misfortunes. But the Lord did not help at the invocation of His name, because He was about to glorify His martyr. What can the wretched man do, caught by so great a downfall? . . . He begins to be swollen with choking breath, and while tortured in the effort to breathe out there comes to his lips the name of Thomas the martyr. (He prays.) All this happened in the heart of the earth. But there arose a cry : 'A priest, a priest, because he is dead !' The priest was summoned, performed the funeral service, and when it was finished, returned to his own business. . . . The Lord became his helper in this sore plight. For a woman of the place had a dream, and said to her son in the early morning : 'I think, my son, that the buried man is still alive, for I saw in my sleep that he was

both drinking milk and sleeping on it'. Forthwith, contrary to his wont, her son rose from his bed and went out into the fields, not on purpose, but as chance led him; and, as if guided by the Spirit, he came to the place, not of the water's flow, but of the water's woe, and putting his ear to the ground he heard as it were a groan. He called to the watchman of the fields, who had gone out in the morning to see to the herd which he had turned into the open air at night, and said: 'Ho there! he is still alive, for I hear as it were the dismal groan of a man'. The other answered: 'There is nothing there, and I would not believe there was, though every one in Gloucester swore to it'. 'Come and listen,' said the first. And when they had done so, the other told the priest that the man was alive, and forthwith the priest broke off divine service and came with the people to the place. And news was sent to Gloucester in the same way that the man was still breathing. And all holy and humble men of heart came thither, old men, boys and women, and began with diligence to dig out the earth with brooms, dishes, buckets and other country tools. But the buried man, hearing them making a stir and taking each other's places at the work, began to call up from below to the bystanders near and far not to hurt him with their picks, and not to work too far off; and the day advanced to the third hour. Then at last the buried man was brought to light, with his cheeks crushed together and his arms bruised but not actually broken, and all stiff and numbed with the keen frost underground. And so he was brought back to the upper world that sinners might escape from the nether."

MODERN WINDOWS.

Under the south-west Tower in the Nave is a memorial window to Sir R. H. Inglis by the late Mr. G. Austin. On the north and south sides of the Nave are four *Te Deum* windows by the late Mr. George Austin. Under the north-west

Tower are memorial windows to Mrs. H. Austin and to Mr. George Austin, architect and surveyor of the Cathedral, who died in 1848. He was the father of Mr. George Austin, who designed and gave the stained glass windows in the Clerestory of the Nave, and to whom reference is made in connection with the modern windows. Mr. Harry Austin, architect and surveyor of the Cathedral, who died in 1892, was his brother.

On the north side of the Nave is a memorial window to Dean Stanley, presented by Messrs. Clayton & Bell. In the four lights are figures of Archbishops Odo, Stigand, Lanfranc, and Prior Eruulf, and beneath are scenes in the history of the Cathedral.

In S. Michael's Chapel the window on the south side is also by Messrs. Clayton & Bell, with figures in the four lights of S. Gregory, S. Augustine, Ethelbert, and Bertha, and scenes connected with their history beneath. The east window is by Messrs. O'Connor of Birmingham. The west window in the Martyrdom is by Messrs. Ward & Hughes. It was given by the late Rev. R. Moore.

In the north-east Choir Transept is a memorial window to Lord Kingsdown by Messrs. Clayton & Bell. On the north wall are two by Messrs. Powell. The one to the west was given by Mrs. Robertson in memory of her husband, Canon Robertson. The figures are those of Abel, Enoch, Noah and Shem; and Abram, Melchizedek, Isaac and Jacob in the adjoining window.

Beneath is one in memory of Canon Chesshyre by Messrs. Hardman, and another by Mr. G. Austin. In the adjoining Chapels are two more by him. A memorial window in S. Martin's to Dr. Spry,¹ and in that of S. Stephen, one presented by Dean Stanley.

In the north aisle of the Choir there is a memorial window to Archbishop Howley by Mr. G. Austin, and the

¹ An old medallion is preserved here—S. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar.

Triforium windows above, and also on the south side, are by him, in memory of the Dean and Mrs. Lyall.

In the Trinity Chapel is a memorial window to Lieut. R. G. Dyson, 3rd Dragoon Guards, by Messrs. Clayton & Bell.

In Becket's Crown is a window by Mr. G. Austin, and in the south aisle of the Choir is another in memory of Canon Lockwood. Three windows in the south side are by Mr. Wailes.

In S. Anselm's Chapel all the windows are by Messrs. Clayton & Bell, and presented by Canon Holland, by whom the Chapel was restored. In the east window is a figure of S. John.

In the apse is one with figures of SS. Peter and Paul, to whom the Chapel is dedicated.

The five lights of the window on the south wall contain figures of Stephen Langton, the Black Prince, S. Anselm, the Fair Maid of Kent and Archbishop Theodore.

On the west another window represents Archbishops Mepham and Bradwardine, who are buried in the Chapel.

On the south side of the east Transept of Choir are two small windows and two large by Messrs. Clayton & Bell, the large one to the east in memory of Dean Alford, the other to Mr. E. Leigh Pemberton. On the west is another in memory of the Marquis Conygham also by them. To the east are two windows by Mr. G. Austin.



H. J. Stephens

THE TOMBS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

BY

JOHN MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A.

*Author of "The Life of St. Thomas Becket," "The Relics of
St. Thomas of Canterbury," &c.*



Canterbury:
EDWARD CROW, MERCERY LANE.

MDCCCXC.

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

The Tombs of the Archbishops in Canterbury Cathedral.

THE widespread interest excited by the problem of the rightful ownership of the tomb that was examined in Canterbury Cathedral on March 8 and 10, 1890, justifies an attempt to put on record the conclusions that have been reached respecting that tomb, and an opportunity is thus afforded of a few words respecting some of the other tombs of Archbishops which present matter for discussion. The tomb lately opened has held quite an exceptional position amongst the tombs in the Cathedral. It is unlike the others in appearance, and looks more like a shrine than an ordinary tomb. A conjecture often repeated suggested that as, at the destruction by fire of this part of the Cathedral in 1174, the monks, according to Gervase, cast down from various beams the shrines of the saints, this tomb might possibly have been made to receive the fragments of the shrines, together with what remained of their contents. This rumour has now been set at rest for ever, as the monument was found on examination to cover a stone coffin, and to contain nothing else.

ARCHBISHOP HUBERT WALTER, 1205.

Within that stone coffin lay the desiccated body of an Archbishop in full pontificals. All that had been made of linen or of wool had perished. Under the silken vestments no trace remained of clothing, but there was a haircloth band round the waist. The alb had gone, but the front apparels of silk belonging to it were in their proper places. The pallium also had decayed, but two pins that fastened it were on the shoulders—a third was looked for in vain—and two pieces of lead with their silk coverings were there. Indeed, in one of the pieces of lead, protected by it and the silk, a small portion of the wool of the pallium has survived. The mitre on the head was of silk, and as the threads with which it had been sewn

had decayed, it was easy to see how the oblong piece of silk was folded to form the mitre. The chasuble was ample, the orphreys forming an inverted Λ at the bottom, the arrangement resembling that of the orphreys of the chasuble of St. Thomas at Sens, except that the bars which are double there are single here, and it was bordered by a very beautiful narrow band of lace. The pattern of the silk of the dalmatic was different from that of the chasuble, the designs of both being very rich. These vestments are twelfth century work; the stole older still, probably dating back to the time of Lanfranc. The buskins are of silk, embroidered in lozenges which are filled with beautiful crosses and other designs. The sandals are low boots, also of silk, adorned with little stones, and embroidered very beautifully with quaint monsters and patterns. The ring contains a Gnostic gem, engraved with a serpent and the name of the god *Chnuphis*. The chalice in silver parcel gilt resembles a modern ciborium; the paten has on it an *Agnus Dei* with an appropriate inscription, and on the outer rim is this elegiac couplet:

Ara crucis, tumulique calyx, lapidisque patena,
Sindonis officium candida byssus habet.

The lettering is of the time of Henry the Second. These lines, which are also found on a portable altar in the Church of St. Mary in Capitol, at Cologne,¹ of the twelfth century, may be rendered thus:

His Cross the altar, and His sepulchre
The chalice, and the stone with which 'twas closed
The paten, and this folded linen fair
The winding-sheet in which His limbs reposed.

A light pastoral staff of cedar wood with a knop containing three engraved gems (the fourth has been lost), and a very simple volute or head, rested on the body from the right foot to the left shoulder, one hand being beneath it and the other resting on it. It is probable that the maniple and the gloves were of linen, as no trace of them remains.

The place occupied by this most interesting tomb is the south wall of the aisle of the Trinity Chapel, which chapel

¹ In our case, by inserting the *que* after *tumuli*, the first syllable of *iyx* has very properly been made short. The German inscription runs thus:

Quicquid in altari punctatur spirituali,
Illud in altari completur materiali.
Ara crucis, tumuli calyx, lapidisque patena,
Sindonis officium candida byssus habet.

was built to receive the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and was finished in 1184. It is now ascertained from a list of Archbishops, to which fuller reference will shortly be made, that this is the tomb of Archbishop Hubert Walter, who died in 1205. It is his body that has been lately seen. These are his vestments, his ring, his chalice and paten, and his crozier, that have aroused so much interest, and teach us such valuable lessons in the history of art as to condone the rifling of his tomb. The Society of Antiquaries of London will engrave the whole collection in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. Another tomb in the Cathedral has hitherto gone by Hubert Walter's name, and it says much for the acumen and felicity of judgment of Canon Scott Robertson, that he should nine years ago have pointed out this tomb as Hubert Walter's. It then went by the name of Theobald's, who died in 1161. It will interest the reader to have the tradition respecting the tomb traced for him. The true solution had not occurred even to so careful and accurate an inquirer as Professor Willis. This is what he says :

Unfortunately, out of fifty Archbishops and distinguished personages before the Reformation, the locality of whose tombs or shrines have been recorded, only about eighteen monuments are left, many of which are in a greater or less state of dilapidation. With one exception, however, they are all securely appropriated to their respective owners, and thus dated, which greatly increases their value and use for the history of art. Their positions are so minutely described by Archbishop Parker at a period when all the inscriptions remained, that there can be no mistake in this respect.

Here we may say that a manuscript list of Archbishops, the original of which was taken from Canterbury by Archbishop Parker, and deposited by him in the Corpus Library at Cambridge, of which manuscript a copy in Henry Wharton's handwriting is accessible at Lambeth Palace, will no doubt for the future supersede Parker's own descriptions, for it is more ancient and trustworthy. In the case of Hubert Walter himself, Professor Willis, following Parker in his mistake, assigns for the place of Hubert Walter's tomb "the south wall of the choir aisle." The manuscript list that corrects this error for us tells us that Hubert Walter lies "near the shrine of St. Thomas," which is the position of the tomb under examination. That list was written by a monk of Canterbury between 1532 and 1538, and on the margin (not

copied by Wharton) of the original entry respecting Hubert Walter, Josselin, Archbishop Parker's secretary, has written, "otherwise, under the window on the south side." This window is in the choir aisle, and this note of Josselin's shows us that Parker meant the position under the window in the choir aisle, and thus adopted, if he did not originate, the mistake that Hubert Walter was buried there.

Professor Willis continues, with reference to the tomb lately opened, that "the exception just mentioned" by him, that is to say, the exception amongst all the tombs, which otherwise are "securely appropriated to their respective owners,"

is a tomb which now stands on the south side of the Trinity Chapel; its sides are decorated with an arcade of trefoil arches, resting on shafts which have round abacuses and bases, and the style seems a little later than the completion of the Trinity Chapel. No record of a monument on this spot is preserved, and if, as is probable, it has been moved from its original site, all clue to its history is gone. It may have been constructed after the completion of the church, to receive the bones of some of the Archbishops who had been removed. It is usually attributed to Archbishop Theobald, but without reason, and is too late in style. (Willis, p. 128.)

We now know that this tomb has not been removed from its original site, for its contents have rested undisturbed since first they were placed there in 1205. It was not erected to receive the bones of some of the Archbishops who were removed, and it is wonderful that Professor Willis, who assigns to them all their places in the church, should have thought it possible. And it is no longer true that no record of a monument in this spot is preserved, for the Corpus MS. indicates it unmistakably as Hubert Walter's. One important result therefore of the recent investigation is the correction of this passage in the invaluable book of Professor Willis on Canterbury Cathedral.

ARCHBISHOP THEOBALD, 1161.

The Professor states with great positiveness, and at the same time, no doubt, with perfect truth, that this tomb is not Archbishop Theobald's. Yet, if it were not for positive evidence assigning it to Archbishop Walter, it might have been possible to have made out something of a case for Theobald, once Abbot of Bec, the Archbishop who crowned Henry the Second, and who, dying in 1161, was succeeded by St. Thomas of

Canterbury. The story of his removal from his original resting-place, nineteen years after his burial, is sufficiently interesting to be told in full.

Gervase says that in the old Trinity Chapel Lanfranc lay on the south side, Theobald on the north. And when that Trinity Chapel, the work of St. Anselm and his Priors Ernulf and Conrad, had been destroyed by fire in 1174, the bodies of Lanfranc and Theobald who were buried in it, and of St. Odo and St. Wilfrid who were enshrined in it, rested there amongst the ruins for six years. Gervase himself was an eye-witness of what was done with them in 1180, and his account of the opening of the tomb of Theobald is startlingly like what was seen the other day. I go back a little, to make my extract from Gervase complete, and I avail myself of Professor Willis's translation, retaining, however, the right to alter a word when necessary.

The Chapel of the Holy Trinity above mentioned was then levelled to the ground; this had hitherto remained untouched out of reverence to St. Thomas, who was buried in the crypt. But the saints who reposed in the upper part of the chapel were translated elsewhere, and lest the memory of what was then done should be lost, I will record somewhat thereof. On the 8th of the Ides of July the altar of the Holy Trinity was broken up, and from its materials the altar of St. John the Apostle was made; I mention this lest the history of the holy stone should be lost upon which St. Thomas celebrated his first Mass and many times offered the Holy Sacrifice. The stone structure which was behind this altar was taken to pieces. Here, as before said, St. Odo and St. Wilfrid reposed for a long period. These saints were raised in their leaden coffins and carried into the choir. St. Odo in his coffin was placed under the shrine of St. Dunstan, and St. Wilfrid under the shrine of St. Elphege.

Archbishop Lanfranc was found enclosed in a very heavy sheet of lead, in which from the day of his first burial up to that day he had rested his limbs, untouched, mitred, pinned,¹ for sixty-nine years and some months. He was carried into the vestry and replaced in the lead, until the community should decide what should be done with so great a father. When they opened the tomb of Archbishop Theobald, which was built of marble slabs, and came to his coffin, the monks who were present, expecting to find his body reduced to dust, brought wine and water to wash his bones. But when the lid of the coffin was raised, he was found entire and rigid, the bones and nerves, the skin and flesh cohering, but attenuated. The bystanders marvelled at this sight, and

¹ *Spinulatus*, with the pins of his pallium.

touching him with their hands placed him on a bier, and so carried him to Lanfranc in the vestry, that the Convent might resolve what would be the most respectful manner of disposing of both. But the rumour spread among the people, and already for this unwonted incorruption many called him St. Theobald. He was shown to several who desired to see him, and by them the tale was spread among the rest. He was thus raised from his grave in the nineteenth year from his death, his body being incorrupt and his silk vestments entire. By the decision of the Convent he was buried in a leaden chest¹ before St. Mary's altar in the nave of the Church, and this was what he had desired when living. The marble tomb was put together over him as before. But Lanfranc having remained, as aforesaid, untouched for sixty-nine years, his very bones were consumed with rottenness, and nearly all reduced to dust. The length of time, the damp vestments, the natural frigidity of the lead, and, above all, the frailty of the human structure, had conspired to produce this corruption. But the larger bones, with the remaining dust, were collected in a leaden coffer, and deposited at the altar of St. Martin. (Willis, p. 57.)

To the testimony of Gervase may be added that of *Polistorie*, a MS. Chronicle in French of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. This writer's account seems to be an echo of that of Gervase, but he describes the place at the Lady Altar where Theobald was buried with some distinctness.

Lan de grace mclx. . . . En cel tems enmaladist le erseuesk de Caüterbire Thebaud primat de Engleterre & legat de la Curt de Rome : mes lan de grace mil clxi. de cele maladie languisaunt le an de sun erseuesche xxij. la xiiij. Kl. de May a Caunterbire morust, et ilukes en le eglise Ihu Cst fust enterre de coste lauter nostre dame p[ar] deuaunt honurablement. Le cors de ly apres le xix an de sa sepulture entier & red [raide] fust troue des os, nerfs, de pel & char, dunt poy [peu] hy avoyt, mes tuts entieres se mustrent les iointures.²

The marginal note is "De corpore Theobaldi Archiepi. integro inuento post xix annos."

The question must now be discussed, whether the body of Theobald remained there at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the nave, or whether there is any probability that it was transferred to the south aisle of the Trinity Chapel. I take the greatest difficulty against its transfer first.

In the fifteenth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 291, there is a paper which was read before the Society of Antiquaries of

¹ Willis notes that in this case Gervase uses the word *arca*, while in all the other instances in this extract the word employed by him for a coffin is *capsa*.

² Harl. 636, fol. 118 b.

London on May 31 and June 7, 1804. The paper was drawn up by Mr. Henry Boys, from the rough notes left by his father, Sir John Boys, and it is accompanied by an excellent print of our tomb and of the leaden *plaque* that was buried with Archbishop Theobald. This interesting *plaque* of lead seems to have been sent to the Society of Antiquaries as a gift by Mr. Boys, for it would be "more usefully preserved in their collection than in the cabinet of any private person." Unfortunately it is not known to exist. The drawing of it, from which the engraving in the *Archæologia* has been taken, is now in one of the portfolios of the Society of Antiquaries, and evidently represents the *plaque* more accurately than the engraving. That it is our Archbishop Theobald's *plaque* there cannot be a doubt. Mr. Boys says :

On the 20th of February, 1787, the workmen began to take up the old pavement in the body of Canterbury Cathedral, and in levelling the ground for the new pavement at the east end of the north aisle, a leaden coffin was found a little below the surface, containing the remains of a body that had been wrapped in a robe of velvet or rich silk fringed with gold ; these remains were much decayed. In the coffin was likewise enclosed an inscription on a plate of lead, in capital letters, engraved in double strokes with a sharp-pointed instrument. The lead is much broken and affected by the aerial acid, and the letters are particularly so, the calx filling all the strokes, and rising above the surface of the sounder metal ; from whence it appears that the unwritten surface was covered with paint or varnish, through which the strokes were cut into the substance of the lead, and thereby left exposed to the air. The letters are exceedingly well formed for that period ; some of the abbreviations are curiously complex. I read the inscription thus : [*Hic requiescit*] *venerabilis memo[riæ] Teob[aldus] Cantuarie archiepiscopus Britannie primas et Apostolicæ [Sedis legatus]. Ecclesie Christi Diep[er]ham adqui[sivit proprio] argento et pluribus or[navit] operibus. Se[pultus] [v]iiii. Kl.[Maii anno Domini MCLXI].*

If, as Mr. Boys says, this inscription was found "in the coffin" in which were the remains of a body in silk vestments, the probability is very strong that that body was Archbishop Theobald's. It is, however, curious that we can get further back than the date of Mr. Boys' paper, and in doing so, instead of assertions as positive as his, we meet only with surmises, with a great diversity in the statement of facts. Hasted's book on Canterbury is dated December, 1800, and this is his account of the finding of the body in the old Lady Chapel.

On the removal of the earth for making the new pavement of the nave, the stone coffin under this monument [that of Sir John Boys, who died in 1612] was found with the outward side of it already broken to pieces; in it were three skulls, lying close together at one end, and a number of bones in a heap promiscuously in the middle of it. Under the window, eastward from this monument, there was found lying on the foundation, which about three feet under the surface projected like a shelf, a skeleton, the body of which had been to all appearance richly habited; some of the materials of the cloathing remained in small pieces or tatters, seemingly a stuff of gold tissue, and a piece of a leaden plate, on which could be read ARCHIEP and the word PRIMAS, seemingly very antient; the remaining part of the lead had crumbled away. These, perhaps, were the remains of Archbishop Theobald, who was buried somewhere hereabouts in the year 1184 [1180].¹

It is remarkable that Hasted should have seen one part of the *plaque*, but not the other fragment which contains Theobald's name. To our purpose it is important to observe that he makes no mention of any coffin whatever, within which the *plaque* might be found. On the contrary, he expressly says that the skeleton was "found lying on the foundation" of the aisle wall, "which about three feet under the surface projected like a shelf." Hasted tells us that "on searching the graves and moving the remains of those anciently buried in this nave, for new making of the ground to lay the present new pavement on, it was then found that this was not the first time these depositories of the dead had been disturbed, for every coffin had been opened and ransacked."² Of the particular place with which we are now concerned, this receives sad proof from the statement he has just made to us of the stone coffin that had been so violently used that its side was broken to pieces, in which three skulls were at one end, and a heap of bones in the middle. It seems clear that no leaden coffin was found in 1787. That the *plaque* there found is Theobald's is indubitable; that it should have been found near the place where Theobald's body unquestionably lay for awhile is most natural; that the *plaque* should be bought from the workmen by Sir John Boys might well be expected, as this was the spot where his kinsman Sir John Boys was buried; but that the *plaque* was found in a bishop's coffin has not been established, much less that that coffin was undisturbed. In making Dr. Anian's grave in

¹ *History of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 391, note R.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 384.

January, 1632, close to the tomb of Sir John Boys, the *plaque* of Archbishop Richard, who succeeded St. Thomas, was found, as Somner tells us,¹ together with his cope, crozier, and chalice. This Somner says was "on the north side of the body [*i.e.* the nave], towards the upper end," and, therefore, very close to the place spoken of by Hasted where the skeleton was found on the foundation of the aisle wall. Theobald had a marble tomb re-erected over him at the Lady Altar, as we learn from Gervase; he was buried "a coste lauter nostre Dame par devaunt," according to *Polistorie*, and it would seem probable that Theobald's marble tomb will have been on the south, if Richard in 1183 was buried on the north side. Theobald's *plaque* would be thrown about and displaced as the earth was several times disturbed. And we may assume that Theobald rested there till the spoliators came and ruthlessly mingled the bones of the ancient rulers of the Cathedral and removed them, we know not whither. Not that a transfer would have been impossible even if unrecorded. We know that SS. Odo and Wilfrid were placed in their leaden coffins beneath the shrines of SS. Dunstan and Elphege on either side of the high altar. Willis tells us that this was "as a temporary resting-place only," and his reason for so saying is that in a later list of relics he finds that they were in the Corona in the fourteenth century. Yet Gervase leaves them at the high altar, and if no such subsequent list had been forthcoming, the historians of the church² would have all declared that there they still were, just as they insist that Theobald, or what is left of him, is, if not carried out of the church by the spoilers, still in the old chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the nave aisle.

We are not saying that it is not so, for documentary evidence shows that as a matter of fact Theobald was not transferred, and the tradition is erroneous which says that our tomb is his burial-place. When *Polistorie* was written in 1313, we should not have been told that he was buried by the Lady altar, if by that time he had been removed; and the excellent list of 1532 would not have said that "he is buried in the nave of the church." In 1313, the Lady altar was in the nave aisle;

¹ Willis, p. 37, note J.; Somner, p. 92. Dart (p. 129) wrongly says it was Dr. Aucher's, who died in 1700.

² Dart (p. 109.), forgetting Prior Eastry's list which he prints in his Appendix, says that St. Odo's bones still continue under the feretory of St. Dunstan, without any monument,

it disappeared when Archbishop Sudbury pulled down Lanfranc's ruinous nave in 1378; and when the list of 1532 was written, Prior Goldston had long since finished the new Lady Chapel on the east side of the Martyrdom. The two writers, then, by their different phrases are indicating the same place in the church.

But though Theobald remained there till the barbarians of the eighteenth century destroyed all trace of his tomb, his body no doubt having lost after its reburial in lead the wonderful state of preservation that so surprised the beholders in Gervase's time, yet the tradition, that the tomb lately opened was really his, has lasted a long time, withstanding the earnest assaults of historians like Somner and Battely. The very books that deny the truth of the tradition, in some sort testify to it by printing the words "Archbishop Theobald's tomb" on their plates of the tomb in the Trinity Chapel aisle, and in their plans of the Cathedral. Sir John Boys associates the name of Theobald so closely with the tomb, though he writes to prove that his body has been found elsewhere, that he invents the absurd hypothesis of "a superb monument erected to the memory of Theobald at a period distant from his death, and in a situation distant from his remains." It is still more curious that a "table" representing Theobald and his acts at one time hung over the tomb. If it was, as Battely says, "lately made," it was one of a series of placards engrossed on parchment, which are dated 1665. This was the time when the Cathedral was reopened after the ill-treatment it underwent in Cromwell's time, and the table gives us the tradition existing at the Restoration.

"TABLES."

The mention of this "table," or, as we should call it, "tablet," of Theobald and his acts may justify a few words respecting the other "tables" that we know to have existed on the tombs in the church. It would appear that almost all the "tables" had been misplaced. Weever asserts that he found that Lanfranc was buried in the church "by a table inscribed, which hangs upon his tomb." "Erroneously," is Somner's comment, "for there is neither tomb nor table of his there." Theobald's we have seen was displaced, for it was on the tomb we now know to be Hubert Walter's. There was a "table" for Odo, and it had found its way to Archbishop Sudbury's tomb. "There indeed," says Somner, "shall you find a table hanging, epitomizing the story of his [Odo's] life and acts—not without a



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TO VIND
ANTHONY

great mistake." Archbishop Mepham's "tomb is that whereon by error Archbishop Sudbury's table hangs." And when he comes to Sudbury, Somner repeats: "His tomb is that (as in Odo I told you) whereon Odo's table hangs." Two "tables," at all events, were in their proper places, for he says of Stratford: "By the table hanging whereon you may easily find it," and of Wittlesey, that he lies "between two pillars on the south side of the body of the Church, under a fair tomb inlaid with brass, as his table will direct."¹ Godwin, in his Latin edition (1616), complains that the "tables" that he saw at the tomb of Walter Reynolds, and at that which he thought was Hubert Walter's, had been taken away by some one, he knew not whom. Of these Somner makes no mention. The custom of putting "tables" on tombs for the instruction of strangers was an ancient one. There is an example of one in the year 1406 at St. Augustine's tomb in his Abbey at Canterbury, which gave offence to the Christ Church monks by stating the priority of foundation of that Abbey.

The "table" for Wittlesey's tomb is still to be seen in the Cathedral library, written in 1665 by a man of the name of R. Hoare. Those of Bradwardin, Islip, and Arundell, done at the same time, are also preserved. There remains one of an earlier series, that of Islip, word for word the same as the later one, but much more worn and in an earlier handwriting. The matter in these "tables" is taken from Parker, and they are written in Latin. These post-Reformation "tables" are evidently those that Godwin and Somner allude to.

ARCHBISHOP ST. ODO, 958.

The interesting character of these "tables" may perhaps justify this digression; but now to return to the local tradition respecting Theobald's claim to Hubert Walter's tomb, we may proceed to give another piece of evidence more striking than any that have gone before. Its production will justify us in turning our attention from Theobald, whose claim upon our tomb must be abandoned, and will cause us to devote ourselves for awhile to the examination of the case of a still more ancient Archbishop, who certainly rested for a time in the Corona, not far from our tomb, and who very probably was placed later on beside, or near to, the tomb we now call Hubert Walter's. The Archbishop in question is the Saxon St. Odo,

¹ Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, London, 1640, pp. 236, 241, 262—265.

the immediate predecessor of St. Dunstan, whose habit it was to call him "Odo the Good." From Eadmer we learn that Odo, the twenty-second Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the relics of St. Wilfrid from Ripon in the year 957, and placed them in the altar, "of rough stones and mortar" against the wall of the eastern apse of the Saxon Cathedral. St. Odo's own tomb was on the south side of the high altar of that Cathedral, and it is not without importance to notice that it was described as "in the form of a pyramid."

This church was found by Lanfranc in ruins, and he rebuilt the nave, and St. Anselm, or rather his Priors Ernulf and Conrad, the choir. From Gervase we learn that, behind St. Anselm's choir, in the Chapel of the Blessed Trinity where St. Thomas used to say Mass, beside the altar and quite against the east wall, on the right, that is the south side, was St. Odo, on the left, or north side, was St. Wilfrid of York; to the south, close to the wall, the venerable Archbishop Lanfranc, and to the north Theobald.¹ For "when the high altar of the old church was taken down, the relics of the Blessed Wilfrid were found and placed in a coffer, and after some years a sepulchre was prepared for them on the north side of an altar, in which they were reverently inclosed on [St. Wilfrid's day] the 12th of October." And a story is told by Gervase of a bright light seen in the church while angels performed the service, who went to the shrine of St. Wilfrid for a blessing before the lections.²

When the choir had been burnt in 1174, the same contemporary authority tells us that on July 8, 1180, when William the Englishman was planning the new Trinity Chapel, St. Odo and St. Wilfrid were raised in their leaden coffins and carried into the choir. St. Odo, in his coffin, was placed under the shrine of St. Dunstan, which was on the south side of the new high altar, and St. Wilfrid under the shrine of St. Elphege, on the north side of the high altar. There Gervase leaves them, but we know from a list of relics made in the time of Prior Eastry,³ in 1321, that St. Odo was then in a shrine in the Corona on the south side, and St. Wilfrid in a shrine also in the Corona on the north side. *Corpus S. Odonis in feretro ad Coronam versus austrum. Corpus S. Wilfridi in feretro ad Coronam versus aquilonem.*⁴

¹ Willis, p. 46.

² *Ibid.* p. 16.

³ *Ibid.* p. 56, note Q; p. 113, note E.

⁴ Galba, E. iv. f. 122; Dart, Append. xiii.

We now come to a new witness, Richard Scarlett,⁵ a lover of heraldry, who visited the Cathedral in 1599. In his first visit to the east end of the church, besides the quarterings on the tombs of Cardinal Pole and Dean Wootton, two things struck him: the one "a old monument of marble wherein was buried Theobaldus, Archbishop of Canterburye, dyed a bouthe 900 yeares a goo:" the other, "Odo, Archbishop and died An^o 958, and lyeth in a fayre monument of marble." This last entry was originally "700 yeare a goo," which put St. Odo two centuries after Theobald, whose antiquity the writer of the note has just doubled. The information our visitor got from the "tables" on the spot was not entirely accurate, and he had not knowledge enough of his own to rectify it. However, the year 958, which he has subsequently entered as the year of St. Odo's death, is near enough, but Theobald's date he has not corrected, in this note at least.

On his next visit he has taken the tombs of all the Archbishops he could find, and he has arranged them in chronological order. Islip's and Warham's dates he has not noted, and he enters them out of order. He has made some other curious mistakes. He begins with Lanfranc, whom he places "at the feet of St. Anselm." This is a reminiscence of the fact that St. Anselm was originally buried at the head of Lanfranc in his own Trinity Chapel, but he was thence translated to the Chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, which thereupon took his name: and Lanfranc, so far from being at the feet of St. Anselm, was removed in 1180 to the altar of St. Martin, on the north side of the church.

Our visitor makes next the curious error of the substitution of an *e* for the last stroke of the *m* in St. Anselm's name, for which we can only account by believing him to have misread the "table" that gave an account of St. Anselm. He calls him "St. Anselyne," and he does not know for certain which was his chapel, saying, "I take it to bee on the south syde of the high altar," in which he guesses rightly.

Another blunder shows that he knows nothing of architecture, for of Archbishop Arundell he tells us that "he built Arundell Steple, and gave the Bells, and dyed in January, 1413." It does not seem strange to him that a man who died in 1413 should have built Lanfranc's Norman north-west tower. It is to be said for him that Parker and Godwin make

⁵ Harl. 1366, fol. 12.

the same mistake. Our herald of 1599 was of the same opinion as Gostling and Hasted, who ought to have known better, and assigned what he calls Theobald's tomb to Saxon times. For he was struck by its antiquity, which he thought might be 900 years, and of Odo's, which he apparently attributes to Odo's own time, in the middle of the tenth century.

But we were engaged with his second visit to the church, and in his notes of it his first entry is, "Odo lyeth on the south syde of the high altar, in a tombe built with marble stone after the forme of a piramis.¹ He dyed An^o 958. Against bischopp Courteney's tombe." And to this he attaches a pen and ink sketch of St. Odo's tomb or shrine, which is so interesting that a photograph has been taken of it in its actual size, as well as enlarged. How exactly it corresponds with Hubert Walter's tomb is thus seen at a glance.

Of Theobald, his entry on this second occasion is that he "lyeth in the upp^r parte of the church (neere the black prince) in a marble tomb. hee dyed An^o 1160." He is this time nearer to the correct date, but it should be April 18, 1161. This error of a year is made by Parker likewise.

This pen and ink sketch so precisely corresponds with our tomb, that not only the geometrical panelling is identical, but the two heads given match exactly with the heads on Theobald's—the first in a cap, the second in a mitre. The quatrefoils could not be drawn because of the small dimensions of his sketch, which is but an inch by three-quarters of an inch, for which reason, also, we have no trefoils in the arcading. Apparently we must take the intimation that this is Odo's tomb, as one more error on Scarlett's part. He must have written out his notes in chronological order after he left the church, and when he came to reproduce his little sketch

¹ Godwin, in his first edition of the *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, by F. G., Sub-Deane of Exeter, London, 1601, p. 20, just after Scarlett's visit, has the same phrase. "He was buried on the south side of the high altar, in a tombe built somewhat after the forme of a Pyramis." He goes on wrongly to say, "I take it to be the tombe of iate standing in the grate neer the steps that lead to S. Thomas Chappell." This is Mephram's tomb, which in the edition of 1615, p. 62, he calls a "tomb of touchstone" and in the Latin, *ex Lydio lapide*. Godwin does not say it is in "the form of a pyramis" because it is like Mephram, but he goes to Mephram because he thinks it answers the description. St. Odo's first tomb in the Saxon church is so described. *Requievit columba supra memoriam beati Odonis, quæ ad australem partem altaris in modum pyramidis exstructa fuit.* (Osborn's Life of St. Dunstan, *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, vol. ii. p. 110.) Somner blames Godwin for not remembering that this is not the same church, but it is not clear that Godwin made this mistake,

Thysse Archibishoppe was buried in the Church of
 Canterbury
 in the place hereafter mentioned



Odo: lyeth on the South side of the great Altar in a
 tomb built wth marble stone wth the effigie of
 a p^{ri}nciple. He dyed An^o. 958 / against Bishoppes
 Colchester tomb.

Lanfrank. lieth at the feet of St Anselme, who
 dyed the xxijth of Maye. An^o. 1084.

St Anselme lyeth in a Chappell dedicated unto
 him (I take it to be on the South side of the
 great Altar) who dyed the viijth of Aprill. An^o. 1109

Rodulphus lyeth buried in the myddle of the Bodys
 of the Church and dyed the xijth of October / 1122

Theobald, lyeth buried in the vnder parte of the Church
 (nere the black priore) in a marble tombe. He
 dyed An^o. 1160.

Ricardus. lyeth buried in the Chappell of Anne Ladie
 who dyed the xvjth of february, An^o. 1183.

His grauent Hubert Walter buried in Julie the
 all red pore the 13. An^o. 1205. in a tomb of
 deces wth a stone lying upon. very fine
 his grauent Walter Reynold. died An^o. 1327.
 who requiessit dⁿⁱ walterus Regnall^{is} p^{ri}nc^{is} Ep^{us} vigorosus et
 Anglia Cancellari^{us} deinde Archiep^{us} istius Elia^{is} qui obiit 16
 die mensis novemb^{ris}. An^o. 1327 // et outward graue
 of a noble person wth a very fine possesse gold

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of the shrine-like tomb, which certainly he has excellently done, he must have forgotten to which of the two, Odo or Theobald, it belonged. The word "piramis" will have been also applicable no doubt to the smaller shrine that contained St. Odo, or it even may have been another reminiscence of what he had read about the Saxon Cathedral, and where the word occurs in his notes, he was led to put the sketch of the larger "piramis" that he had seen at the same time. It is extremely improbable that he saw two tombs exactly alike in the same place, one "against bischopp Courteney's tombe," the other "neere the Black Prince." If there were two alike, they would have been stone shrines of St. Odo and St. Wilfrid from the Corona; but as we have the sketch, and see the tomb corresponding with that sketch, and as we know from Mr. St. John Hope's careful measurements and examination that there is not room in the Corona for our tomb, we may be sure that it is not the shrine of St. Odo or St. Wilfrid, and further that it was certainly made for its present position.

But though Richard Scarlett has given the sketch to Odo that he ought to have given to what he called Theobald, still it seems plain from his description that St. Odo was there at that time in the Trinity Chapel aisle. He saw two tombs, and not one, and he believed that both Archbishops' bodies were there. "Odo lyeth on the south syde of the high alter," "Theobald lyeth buried neere the black prince." "Against bischopp Courteney's tombe," means "opposite to" it, and the "pyramis" we see, Walter's we call it, Theobald's was his name for it, is exactly opposite to Archbishop Courtenay's alabaster monument. The other shrine he saw, St. Odo's, must have been smaller than Walter's tomb, for it came from the Corona; and the singular return of the step still remaining on the south side of the altar in the Corona, where St. Odo once was, seems to indicate a change there, while St. Wilfrid on the north side remained until he was unshrined by Henry the Eighth.

This supposes St. Odo to have been in the Trinity aisle, and indeed either the words "against bischopp Courteney's tombe," or more probably the other description, "neere the Black Prince," belong to his "piramis," or smaller shrine. Now we have a support for this surmise respecting St. Odo in the list of Archbishops in the Corpus Library. The monk of Canterbury, who wrote while St. Thomas was still in his shrine, says that St. Odo "now lies at the Corona of St. Thomas in the Chapel of the Holy

Trinity on the right."¹ In the original, as Mr. Lewis, the Librarian of Corpus, is good enough to say, there is no sign of correction, but the words run on in one and the same handwriting. Still the Corona is never styled "in the Trinity Chapel," and in this entry we seem to find, first a statement that St. Odo was in the Corona, which indeed we know from Prior Henry of Eastry, and then a change, when perhaps the original was inadvertently left, stating that St. Odo was in the Trinity Chapel on the right hand side—the very position that the visitor of 1599 would induce us to assign to his shrine.

And to this second witness that Odo was really in the aisle of the Trinity Chapel we may add, as a third witness, the "table" spoken of by Somner, which evidently once was placed on Odo's shrine. We are thus brought to conclude that long after the time of Henry the Eighth, some one, taking a leaf out of King Henry's book, turned St. Odo and his shrine out of the church. He had been saved from this indignity when the other saints were unshrined by his unrecorded transfer from his old place by the Corona altar, but it was to meet the same fate later on, at some one else's hand. All that we have left to us is a small platform, west of Hubert Walter, and "near the Black Prince," the step in front of which is worn, as if by pilgrims' knees. Is not this the last site of St. Odo's shrine?²

SAXON ARCHBISHOPS.

We may turn to the Corpus manuscript for some information respecting other Archbishops' tombs, but we must necessarily be brief. In all, from St. Augustine to Warham inclusively, our monk gives us sixty-seven names. Of the thirty-two Saxon Archbishops (he omits Damian, Elsin, and Brithelm, given by Dugdale), eleven were buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, twelve appear in his list as they are in Gervase, six he tells us have been moved, and of Ethelnoth and the two who precede Lanfranc he is silent. As these transfers are not mentioned by Parker, and are unknown to Willis, it is well to say that Ffeogild and Ceolnoth were enshrined on a beam at the entrance of the

¹ "S. Odo . . . modo jacet ad Coronam Sti. Thomæ in capella Stæ. Trinitatis ad dextram."

² For this suggestion, which is quite new, and seems to me very interesting, I am indebted to Mr. St. John Hope, the Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

Corona ; Adhelm and Wlfhelm also on a beam, the one before St. Gregory's altar, the other before St. John's. These three last, together with Ethelnoth, about whom we are without subsequent information, were before at St. Benedict's altar in Lanfranc's church, and were disturbed by the rebuilding of the Martyrdom, or by the building of the new Lady Chapel in the fifteenth century. Ffeogild was in Gervase's time at St. Michael's altar. He was thence moved to the high altar, for John Stone, a Canterbury monk in 1467, records in his *Memoranda* that "in 1448, on the 24th of March, four Brothers of this church took from the high altar the shrine with the bones of St. Ffeogild, Archbishop of Canterbury, and carried it behind the Body of our Lord to the shrine of St. Thomas, thence to the Corona of St. Thomas, and placed the shrine on a beam between the shrine of St. Thomas and the Corona of St. Thomas." Besides this, Siricius was removed from the crypt to St. John's¹ altar, and St. Odo first to the Corona, and then, as we have seen, in all probability to the Trinity Chapel on the south side.

ARCHBISHOPS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

There are thirty-five Archbishops from Lanfranc to Warham inclusively. The writer of our list omits Reginald Joceline, but inserts Thomas Langton, so that his total is the same as Dugdale's, who reverses this. Of these, in accordance with Gervase, he places Lanfranc at St. Martin's altar, St. Anselm in his chapel, Theobald and Richard in the nave, meaning in the old Lady Chapel, which had disappeared in his time. He agrees with Henry of Eastry in placing St. Thomas in the Trinity Chapel, St. Anselm in his own, St. Elphege and St. Dunstan at the high altar, St. Odo in the Corona, and St. Elfric at St. John's. This last was buried at this altar in Gervase's time, and enshrined there in Eastry's. Of Ralph de Turbine and William Corboil our monk gives no indication : Gervase places them to the left and right of the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel. John Ufford, who died before consecration, our list places in the Martyrdom. William Wittlessey was "in the nave before the image of Blessed Mary : " Thomas Arundell "in the nave in the chapel founded by him."

¹ It is remarkable that the monk of 1532 always speaks of this altar as that of St. John Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

CARDINAL STEPHEN LANGTON, 1228.

Cardinal Stephen Langton, the writer of our list places "in St. Michael's Chapel *under* the altar." He is the first who makes mention of him in this place, unless Leland is before him. Parker and Godwin corroborate the statement; and Scarlett in 1599 asserts very distinctly that Langton "lyeth in the Chappell of St. Michael on the south syde of the church neere the southe dore, w^{ch} shulde seeme to bee the Chappell Redyfyed by John Earle of Somersett, for ther standyth yett the said monument whear the alter stood, halfe in the wall and halfe owte." The Chapel of St. Michael was rebuilt in 1439. Langton was buried in 1228, when St. Michael's Chapel, like St. Benedict's on the other side of the church, was but a little apse like those we now see in the eastern transepts. Cardinal Langton, we learn from *Polistorie*, which was written in 1313, "kaunt honourablement en cele eglise fust mys en tere deuaunt lauter seint Michel." We must look on the transfer of Langton from before to beneath the altar of St. Michael's Chapel to have taken place at the rebuilding in 1439. This testimony of *Polistorie*, that Lanfranc was buried *before* the altar of St. Michael, relieves us from a considerable difficulty. For Willis has said :

The stone coffin attributed to Stephen Langton, which is now built into the wall of the Chapel of St. Michael, seems to have been originally outside the wall in the churchyard; and thus the new wall, when the chapel was rebuilt and enlarged in the fourteenth century, was made to stride over the coffin by means of an arch. (p. 129.)

If this coffin were once outside in the churchyard, it was either not Stephen Langton's at all, or that great Cardinal Archbishop, alone of the Archbishops of Canterbury, was buried outside the church, and not only that, but his burial-place was not even in the cemetery of the monks, but in that of the laity. This some have attempted to account for by saying that he was excommunicated when he died, which is not true; and if it were true, he would not have been buried in consecrated ground as this was. Nor can it be said that though not excommunicated, he was suspended from his archiepiscopal functions and was buried as a simple priest, for as a matter of fact, the cemetery to the east of St. Michael's Chapel was not that where a simple priest would have been buried, as it was the

cemetery of laymen. The statement of *Polistorie* is valuable as showing us that Cardinal Langton was, like the other Archbishops, buried within the church before an altar, so that there is no need to devise reasons why he should have been buried in the churchyard at all. A far more difficult thing to assign a reason for is, that he should have been finally buried under an altar. The stone of the altar rested on his coffin, and by this arrangement the cross on the coffin lid, which is now visible, was then hidden. The front of the coffin shows that when it was before the altar the coffin was in the ground, the lid alone showing on the surface of the ground.

ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM, 1292.

There is a very curious note in Scarlett's manuscript, which has its value as showing various local traditions that have arisen without any foundation. As we have had to reject one very strong local tradition, which attached the name of Hubert Walter to a later tomb, and another not less strong, which called by Theobald's name Hubert Walter's tomb, it may be instructive to see that there was once a tradition in Canterbury Cathedral that Stigand, the deposed Archbishop, who made way for Lanfranc, was buried there, and again that Peckham's tomb was taken to be Ufford's:

In the Chapell of St. Thomas Beckett, a pon the monument of John Ufford, is layed a verye old monument of a bishopp, wth his myter on his head, curyouslye cutt in hard oke and remayneth sound and good: but from whens he was brought thither I knowe not. He lyeth loose a pon the top of the marble ston, and is by prescryption said to be the picture of Stygauns the *Arch*^bishop lyving at the comyg of W^m the Conqueror. And is lykely to be soo, because I have seen the lyke cutt in oke of some noblemen that lyved at the Conquest tyme, as for example one Lord Lovetoft, Lord of Worsop, who standeth in a church there to be seene yett, and lyeth crosslegged in a wonderful old arque, leaning on his swoord and a great target on his armes, whereon was the Lovetofts armes: all cutt out of oke and was so hard that I could scarselye enter a dagger poynt in to yt.

RICH. SCARLETT.

The writer has scored out all the preceding notes, and he has added this correction: "Stygan doth not lie in the sayde church, as it is reportyd." (fol. 18.)

¹ Erased.

The previous entry Scarlett had made respecting this tomb runs thus: "John Ufford, brother to the Earle of Suffolke, dyed of the plague the vijth of June An^o 1348 and is buried in St. Thomas Chappell whereat hee hath a statlie tombe cutt in wood¹ ston and all piraments gilt a pon him a marble ston whearon is no armes nor wrytinge." (fol. 13.)

St. Thomas's Chapel,² the term also used by Scarlett for the place of burial of Archbishops Stafford, Deane, and Warham, is the Martyrdom; and the monk of 1532 contents himself with assigning the Martyrdom as Ufford's burial-place. Parker's phrase in the early unpublished edition of 1572 is translated by Godwin thus: "His body without any pompe or wonted solemnity was carried to Canterbury, and there secretly buried by the north wall, beside the wall of Thomas Becket." To this Godwin added in his first black letter editions of his "Catalogue of Bishops," published in 1601 and 1615, "at that place (if I mistake not) where we see an olde wooden tombe neere to the tombe of Bishop Warham."

Hasted's conjecture respecting the wooden effigy is curious. "It seems singular," he says, "that the figure should have been left so entirely plain when all the rest of the tomb is profusely decorated with painting and gilding. It has been conjectured by some that this was a conventional figure used to place on the tomb immediately after the interment of an Archbishop, until such time as his monument was ready."

Hasted says that Ufford "does not seem to have had any monument erected for him, though that remaining there now beside Warham's tomb, and allowed by most to be that of Archbishop Peckham, has been by some conjectured to have been erected for Archbishop Ufford, whose gravestone is still to be seen in the pavement in the Martyrdom, though it has been for a long time robbed of its brasses."

In assigning Peckham's tomb to Ufford, the tradition of the Cathedral in the sixteenth century has again gone wrong, Scarlett and Godwin have been misled by it at the same time. In Scarlett's list of tombs there is no mention of Archbishop Peckham.

Godwin has nothing more to say of Peckham than that "he was buried in his owne church, but in what particular place I finde not." A manuscript note in the British Museum copy

² This is interesting, as Willis says (p. 62) that the Trinity chapel "is always called the Chapel of St. Thomas."

of Godwin's second edition shows how Somner set this matter right :

Archbishop Parker, as well as Bishop Godwin, found not the particular place where Archbishop Peckham was buried. But by a record (sayth Mr. Somner, in his *Antiq. of Cant.* p. 286) in the church of the time of his death and place of the buriall of this Archbishop, it appears he was laid *in parte aquilonari, juxta locum Martyrii beati Thomæ Martyris*.¹ Mr. Somner fears the author of the tables hath done him some wrong in hanging Archbishop Ufford's table upon that w^{ch} (as he takes it) was rather Peckham's tombe than his, that namely in the corner of the Martyrdom next unto Warham, w^{ch} the table writer upon Bishop Godwin's conjecture takes for granted to be Ufford's tombe. But (as Mr. Somner conceives) the cost bestowed on that monument (however the archiepiscopall effigies w^{ch} it hath is framed of wood) being built somewhat pyramis-like, and richly overlayd with gold, w^{ch} is not yet worne off, gainsays it to be Ufford's. For 'tis said that he dying before he was fully Archbishop, having never received either his pall or his consecration, and that in the time of the great plague, w^{ch} (as Walsingham reports) consumed 9 parts of the men throughout England, his body without any pomp or wonted solemnity was carried to Canterbury, and there secretly buried by the north wall, beside the wall of Thomas Becket.

The monk of 1532 gives this little contribution to the overthrow of the sixteenth century tradition, inasmuch as, according to him, both Peckham and Ufford were buried at the Martyrdom, but of Peckham alone he says that his place of burial is "in the wall."

ARCHBISHOP ROBERT WINCHELSEY, 1313.

There is nothing new to be said about Robert Winchelsey's tomb, but there is a full account of his funeral in the French chronicle of Canterbury, called *Polistorie*, which has probably never appeared in an English dress. It was written in 1313, the very year of his death, and the chronicle ends with the election first of Master Thomas de Cobham, and next of "Syre Water Renaud," that is to say, Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester and his enthronement by Prior Henry of Eastry, in the presence of eight of the Bishops of the province. The funeral of Robert Winchelsey is therefore described while its memory was still fresh, and this may account for the detail with which it is told :

¹ Willis gives the reference, *Regist. Ecc. Cant. Ang. Sac.* i. 117.

In the year of grace 1313, the 11th of May, on a Friday, at Otford died Robert de Wynchelessee, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he had held the see 18 years, 34 weeks, and 6 days. His body was carried to Canterbury, and on the 21st of May, on the way to his mother church, it rested in the church of the Hospital of St. James without the city. The Convent of Jesus Christ our Saviour came thither in procession. Thirteen monks only vested in albs in that church, the rest made the lines, and carried the body to the gate of the cemetery of their mother church, the convent going before in frocks according to their usage. At the gate abovesaid the procession of the convent was met by the Bishops of Winchester, of Bath, Ely, and Llandaff, and the prayer was said by the Bishop of Llandaff, John de Monemue,¹ who was the first Bishop of them all. The thirteen monks vested as aforesaid took copes which the sacristan brought them, and they carried the body honourably across the choir up to the Prior's chapel.

On Tuesday at the hour of noon, when the convent was sleeping at mid-day, the body was carried before terce from the chapel to the choir by six monks, Prior Henry being present, and was honourably placed on the pavement before the high altar. That same day without loss of time after Vespers all the convent was vested in albs and the Bishops were vested to sing the dirge: the first lesson of which, with the chanter's garnish, was read by the Prior of Leedes, the second by the Abbot of Langdon, the third by the Abbot of St. Radegund, the fourth by the Abbot of Liesnes, the fifth by the Abbot of Battle, the sixth by the Abbot of Feversham,² the seventh by the Bishop of Ely, the eighth by the Bishop of Winchester, and the ninth by the Bishop of Llandaff. All the responses the monks chanted two and two, except the third which was sung by four, the sixth which was sung by five, and the ninth which the precentor sung with five monks. And all six monks, vested in copes, then chanted three verses, to wit, *Timor magnus, Dies illa*, and *Nunc Christe*.

The day after, the Wednesday, John de Monumue, Bishop of Llandaff, solemnly celebrated Mass for the dead, and after the Gospel made a sermon to the people, and his theme was, *Num ignoratis quod princeps magnus hodie cecidit in Israel, Abner nomine?* "Know you not that this day a great prince hath fallen in Israel, Abner by name?" When the Mass was said, these same Bishops performed the exequies with due devotion, and the body was buried in the same church on the south side before the altar of St. Gregory the Pope.³

¹ John of Monmouth was named Bishop of Llandaff in March 1295, and consecrated in February 1296. The other three Bishops, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Ely, are mentioned in the order of their seniority. It is noteworthy that no precedence was given to Winchester.

² Two were houses of Black Canons, Leedes Priory and Lesnes Abbey or Westwood in Erith, and two of White Canons or Premonstratensians, West Langdon Abbey and St. Radegund or Bradsole near Dover. The other two were Benedictine Abbeys. All these monasteries were in Kent, except Battle Abbey.

³ Harl. MS. 636, fol. 233 b.

The monk of 1532 has nothing further to say of Winchelsey's burial-place than this, except that it was "in the wall." Godwin says, "His tombe, which was situate beside the altar of St. Gregory neare the south wal, was afterwards pulled down." Parker adds the reason, that the people held him after death as a saint and came in numbers to worship him. Leland was at Canterbury before its destruction and says that he was buried "in a right godly tumber of marble, at the very but ende yn the waulle side." When Scarlett came in 1599 it was all gone, and he makes no mention of it whatever. It seems remarkable that Henry's commissioners should have destroyed Winchelsey's monument, for the offerings at it had long ceased,¹ but the veneration of the people, we must suppose, still in some sort continued.

CARDINAL MORTON, 1500.

Scarlett's entry respecting this Cardinal Archbishop is: "John Moorton built for himselfe a chappell and a verye fayer tombe in the undercrofte, and died An^o 1500. Of freeston, him selfe lyeing thereon, garnished with the fawcon standing a pon a ton, the Cardnall hatt and MM his armes standing hard by him in the roof." (fol. 13a.)

The rebus requires a moor-fowl rather than a falcon on a ton. The tomb was no doubt "very fair," that is, beautiful, when Scarlett saw it in 1599. It has gone through centuries of ill-usage since then. Scarlett looked only to the monument, and naturally thought that as in other cases, so also here, the monument indicated the burial-place of the Archbishop. He was buried not far off, no doubt, but it would seem to be a mistake to think that Cardinal Morton is buried immediately under his effigy. The monk of 1532 says that he is "buried before the altar of Blessed Mary in the crypt." This is explained to us by Godwin, who in his two black letter editions tells us that "Moorton built while he lived a sumptuous chappell in the undercrofte or vault which is under the quier. He lieth buried in the said chappell under a marble stone. Howbeit a goodly toombe is erected in memory of him upon the south side of the chappell." This is unmistakeable, and Cardinal Morton therefore lies in the crypt, to the north of his monument, and somewhat

¹ The last offering at the tomb of Archbishop Winchelsey recorded by the monastic treasurers was 17*d.* in the year 1375, sixty-two years after his death, and there had been no offering for several years before. Dr. Sheppard's *Introduction to the Litera Cantuarienses*, vol. i. p. liii.

westward of the ancient altar of Our Lady of Undercroft. In his will, he desired to be buried in front of our Lady's altar, without unnecessary pomp or expense. His executors, when they had done this, went beyond their instructions, and erected the handsome memorial to him that we see. It may be added that in the sacristy of Stonyhurst College there is a skull which is believed to be his. It probably was brought from Liege at the transfer of the College early in this century, but there is no record of any kind to say when it was given to the College.

ARCHBISHOP DEANE, 1503.

Scarlett, with the spelling on the tomb before his eyes, having first written "Henrie Deane," erased the surname, and substituted "Dene," giving as his arms "argent on a chevron between three Cornish choughs proper, as many croziers or." He transcribes a good part of his inscription. "*Sometyme Prior Prioratus de Langtona,¹ deinde Bangorensis ac successive Sar. Epi, postremo vero huius altiss^{ma}. Eccli^{ae}. Metropolit^{ae}. Archi. qui diē suū, &c.* He dyed xvth day of february An^o. 1502 [O. S.]. Hee lieth on the ground in St. Thomas Chappell on a marble ston in brasse." The monk's list only says that he was "buried at the Martyrdom of St. Thomas the Martyr." Godwin's account of his funeral is picturesque. "Deane died at Lamhith. His body was conveyed to Feversam by water, conducted with 33 watermen all apparrelled in blacke (a great number of tapers burning day and night in the boate) and from thence carried [by the same watermen on a bier *Parker*] to Canterbury, where it was buried in the middle of the place called the Martyrdom [as he had ordered in his will, *Parker*] under a fair marble stone inlaid with brasse." Parker adds that he set aside £500 for the expenses of his funeral, and that his chaplains Wolsey and Gardiner were his executors: two historical names, better known than his own.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM, 1532.

"William Warham lyeth in St. Thomas Chappell on a statly monument rayed vj yeards from the ground with these armes on it, at the foote of Uffords tombe. Six coats. (1) gon." The others are tricked by Scarlett thus: (2) London impaling gules, a fess between a goat's head erased, in chief, and in base

¹ It should be *Lanthona* or *Lanthonia secunda* near Gloucester.

3 escallops argent (Warham) (3) Canterbury impaling Warham.
 (4) Christchurch Priory. (5) argent, 2 chevronels azure between
 3 Lancaster roses. (6) St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The monk whom we have called of 1532, because he must have had his list still in his hands when Archbishop Warham died in that year, says of him that he was "buried at the Martyrdom of St. Thomas under the window in the chapel which he had founded." Godwin and Parker say the same. "Warham was buried without any great funeral pomp, giving mourning clothes only to the poore, and laid in a little chappell built by himself for the place of his buriall upon the north side of the Martyrdome, and there hath a reasonable faire tombe." The chapel, however, was never built. Preparations were made for it, as may be seen in the narrow space between the transept and the Chapter House that was called "the Slype." The wall under the transept window was broken through, but an ominous crack overhead very properly frightened the architect, and the wall was hurriedly bricked up again. The lofty tomb that we now see was inserted in the transept wall, and it is curious that so many writers should call it "a chapel." Outside the church on the east side there is a little of the panelling with which the chapel was to have been lined.

CARDINAL POLE.

Reginald Poole descendid from the house of Clarence, and lieth in the upper part of the cathedrall church on the north side of the east wyndowe, who dyed the laste yeare of Queene Maryes raygne. Hee was both Cardinall and Archbishop (Scarlett, fol. 14).

On Cardynall Pools monument who dyed the last year of Queen Marye, these coats :

1. Clarence.	Montague 6.
2. Poole.	Monthermer 7.
3. Nevill E. of Sar.	Woodstock } 8, 9.
4. Beauchamp.	Wake }
5. Warwycke.	Clare 10.
	Spenser 11. (fol. 12)

It is not easy to see in the sketch given by Dart of the decorations of Cardinal Pole's tomb that remained in his time, where the coat of arms seen by Scarlett can have been. We cannot refer to the monk of Canterbury that has helped us hitherto, but another hand has added to his list, after "Thomas

Cranmer truculenter combustus Martii 23, 1556," "Reginald Pole buried in the Church of Canterbury, in the Crown which is called Thomas Becket's." Godwin tells us that his body in a leaden coffin was taken to Canterbury and buried in the chapel of St. Thomas [on the north side of a little chappell that is at the east end of Thomas Becket's chappell—*Godwin* in the black letter editions] with this brief notice for an epitaph, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli.*" Parker adds that his funeral was celebrated for three days, and sermons were preached in his praise in Latin and in English.

It is a mistake on Scarlett's part to say that Cardinal Pole died in the last year of Mary's reign. He survived her a few hours, and the funeral panegyrics at Canterbury, as well as the decorations on the wall above his tomb, were both of them done to his honour in the first days of Elizabeth. Wriothesley says: "Thursday xvii November 1558 about sixe in the morning, Queen Marie died at her manor of St. James by Charing Cross. . . . Friday, the xviii November Dr. Reynalde Poole Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterburie died at Lambeth in the morning, and was afterwards buried at Canterburie in Christs Church." Machyn says the same, except that he puts the Cardinal's death on "the xix in the morning, between v and vi oclock." He adds that on "the x day December was brought down from her chamber Queen Mare," and then, after describing her funeral, he continues, "the same morning my lorde Cardenall was moved from Lambeth and cared [carried] towards Canterburie with grete companie in blake . . . and he was cared in a charett with [banner] rolles wrought in figne gold and grett banners of armes, and iiij banners of saints in owlls [oils]."

The tomb now looks miserably poor, and it certainly is to be wished that Cardinal Pole might have a worthy monument. In that case it will not be like the painted plaster work with which it was at first adorned, which was in wretched taste. Why St. Christopher should have been selected as an appropriate saint, to be painted over the Cardinal's burial-place, is by no means clear. The style of the drawing, more especially of the little cherubs, is very Italian, judging by the sketch given by Dart.

PRIOR CHILLENDEEN, or PRIOR EASTRY.

The rest of the burial-places of Archbishops named in our good monk's list agree with the received descriptions, but one tomb remains unappropriated, that beside Walter Reynolds' on the south of the choir, hitherto called Hubert Walter's. As a working hypothesis, Adam Chillenden may be suggested for it, who, after being Prior seven years, was elected to the archbishopric, and died before consecration in the year 1274. He was practically Henry of Eastry's predecessor, as Thomas Ringmere, who came between them, left to be a Cistercian and died in a hermitage. The tomb is of Eastry's time, and the mitred effigy, that once had a red chasuble with gold lions *passant*, as it has no crozier, would very well suit a Prior who dates before the concession by Urban the Sixth in 1380 of the use of the crozier to the Lords Priors of Christ Church, Canterbury. Henry of Eastry was himself buried between the images or pictures of St. Osyth and St. Apollonia. This, it is to be feared, is *ignotum per ignotius*, but some day the whereabouts of these images may be known, and that may help to determine whether this tomb is Prior Henry of Eastry's. Meanwhile, we may in imagination well replace an image of our Lady on the second pier of the nave on the south side, as Archbishop William Wittlesey was buried between the second and third pier, not counting the tower piers, and the Corpus manuscript says that he was "in the nave, before the image of Blessed Mary." And in like manner we can in our fancy restore an image of our Divine Saviour to the south-eastern transept near the place where, as we have seen, Archbishop Robert Winchelsey was buried. Somner, to identify the place of his tomb, made use of an extract from one of the church records, which speaks of a gift made for "the light of the throne opposite to the image of our Saviour opposite to the altars of St. John the Evangelist and St. Gregory." From this passage it is that we learn the existence of the image of our Saviour, but the repetition of the word *contra*, "over against" or "opposite to," makes it difficult to say on which side of the transept it stood; neither is it clear what the "throne" was that is described as opposite to it, or what the "light" was burned to honour.

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